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A TOUR

IN THE

UNITED STATES,

CUBA, AND CANADA.

BY

HENRY ASHWORTH, ESQ.

A COURSE OF LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE MEMBERS

OF THE

BOLTON MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

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PREFACE.

A YEAR has now elapsed since the delivery of the last of these Lectures; and the whole of them have been reported as they were delivered, and published in the "Bolton Chronicle" newspaper.

The political troubles of recent time have tended to increase the interest in American affairs, and applications have been made for a republication of the whole.

They are therefore submitted to the public, not as a literary production, but as a descriptive review of the sights and occurrences of a six months' tour.

THE OAKS, BOLTON,
May, 1861.

A

TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.

FIRST LECTURE.

IN accordance with the request of your Committee, I am now about to offer to the members of this Institution the gleanings of that information which has been gathered during an absence of six months, having one of my daughters as my companion. It is not my intention to reduce my observations into heads or chapters, but throughout these lectures to carry on a sort of renewed intercourse with every locality I have visited, and thus to facilitate my descriptions by the localising of my ideas and recollections. By this arrangement I hope I shall be able to diffuse over every evening a greater variety of local interest, and a wider range of expression of opinion, more especially upon slavery and politics. In respect of these, and upon all other matters also, I shall endeavour to represent very faithfully whatever I may have heard, leaving to yourselves to draw from my observations whatever conclusions you may think proper.

It will be admitted that the desire to travel abroad is commendable. It springs from that enlarged desire for knowledge which is sure to lead to the discovery of something acceptable, whether in arts, science, literature, agriculture, commerce, or in the study of those institutions which have relation to political or civil life. Its gratification affords to the eyes, as well as to the mind, an unspeakable delight in the contemplation of those wonders and beauties of nature, which are to be found in every country as essentially its own. And, in our own experience, the enjoyments have far outweighed any risk of disasters. The hazards of crossing the Atlantic may appear serious to many persons, but their real insignificance becomes obvious when we bear in mind that the Cunard Steamers have been constantly sailing, week by week, for nineteen years, without any loss of human life.

Our outgoing passage was boisterous, being early in the month of January. The sleet and snow became frozen, and for some days prevented our taking exercise on deck. The sun was overcast, and many a time prevented the captain from taking his noonday observations of the course we were steering. The storm broke one of the paddle boxes; the waves entered the chimney; the passengers were confined to the saloon, and, deprived of the power of enjoying out-door exercise, were compelled to fill up the time with reading, chess playing, and other amusements.

We landed safely at New York upon the coldest day, as we were told, that they had ever known. The navigation of the rivers had been closed, and from day to day great anxiety was excited by rumours of serious disasters

on the coast. The streets of the city presented an animating scene, being traversed by sleighs instead of wheel carriages. To a stranger the use of sleighs in winter presents a novelty and singularity which gives it an almost fantastic appearance; many of them are open conveyances, very superbly mounted,—often filled with ladies, and well supplied with wrappers of buffalo skins, and other furs; and despite the biting frosts, the travellers appear to enjoy the dry and bracing wintry atmosphere which prevails in that country.

The city of New York stands upon a neck of land forming the point of Manhattan Island, having on two of its sides navigable waters of about a mile in breadth, which separate it from the two adjoining cities of Jersey and Brooklyn. Betwixt these two cities and New York there is a continuous stream of intercourse, carried on by steam-boats of a very commodious construction. The centre part of the deck of each of these boats forms a sort of street, running from stem to stern, which is often crowded with carts and carriages. On both sides of the water, the point of the boat enters the street, and as the tides rise only six feet, the joint of the landing-stage adjusts the height of the boat to the level of the street. In this way, the moment that the boat has been moored in one of these street grooves, the carts and other conveyances move onwards without hindrance. Upon each of the sides overhanging this central part of the boat, there is an elegant reception room provided for the accommodation of the foot passengers. The comfortable style of arrangement thus provided for passengers, appeared to contrast very favourably against the exposure

on deck and the scanty accommodation which passengers on the Mersey are accustomed to receive in passing from Liverpool to Birkenhead; and the fares which are charged are very low indeed.

The locality and design of the city of New York, bear evidence of foresight and provision for sanitary requirements which cannot be too highly appreciated. The same may also be said of Philadelphia and other principal cities on the sea-board. In order to estimate the necessity for the adoption of such precautions which the builders of these towns have so wisely kept in view, we must bear in mind the nature of the climate to which their inhabitants are exposed. We in Lancashire, who are residing about 54 degrees of north latitude, are in an atmosphere which is humid and cold, and therefore we may build our towns and cities without any especial regard to the promotion of currents of air through our principal streets. The leading cities of the United States are nearly 1,000 miles south of Lancashire, or about the same latitude as Spain or Portugal; and the consequent prevalence of heat and fever renders it necessary that their principal streets should be so built as to intersect each other rectangularly, and with openings to the sea which surrounds them, so that the currents created by the rising and falling of the tides may aid their ventilation. The straight lines of streets, and the formation of square blocks of houses, give an unpicturesque stiffness to the appearance of a city; but this arrangement has its advantages in affording facilities for the discovery of any given house or street by a numerical system, after the manner of longitude and latitude; such a number, for instance, as that of 1,105

means the fifth house in the eleventh street. Broadway is the principal street in New York; it is nearly the width of Regent Street, in London, and the shops and fancy stores resemble Regent Street, though the display in the windows is less imposing, and is, perhaps, less carefully studied by the proprietors. This street is already a good many miles in length, and is laid down with a view to become extended beyond any limits at present conceivable. The original habitations, which were made of wood, have given place to others of brick, and now the brick ones are being moved to make way for enlarged structures of marble. The value of property in Broadway has increased amazingly. The residence of a gentleman, with a frontage of 22 feet, which thirty years ago cost him £600, was last year sold for £15,000.

In some of the streets they have adopted a mode of conveyance by railway cars drawn by horses. This has been found useful and cheap, but the inhabitants complain of the damage which is sustained to the estimation of the streets wherever they have been introduced. The utility of one-horse cabs they do not appreciate. We never saw one. They have their hackney coaches, with two horses each, such as we formerly kept on hire, and the fares appear discretional or according to bargain. Upon a rainy day, the sum of two dollars, or 8s. 4d., was demanded as the fare for half-an-hour. I offered one-half the sum, and it was declined. I then directed the attention of the driver to the string of twenty other carriages, all waiting to be employed, and remarked upon the uncertainty of his making any money at all within the next half-hour. He very coolly replied—"The rain is falling very fast, and I

guess I'll spec. it:" or in other words he preferred to speculate upon the chances which might offer; and so I left him.

The Fifth Avenue is the most splendid street in New York. From one point of observation there stands before you an array of modern-built mansions, perhaps unequalled for their magnificence. There are in London many individual mansions of greater splendour, but taking the street as a whole, there is an appearance of architectural design and completeness which is rarely to be met with. In one of these houses, where we called upon the family, the drawing-room was one hundred and thirty-five feet in length, and was very tastefully decorated with pictures, statuary, and works of art, which had been selected in various parts of Europe, and secured by a lavish outlay. The dining and other rooms of the house appeared of large proportions, and elegantly furnished. The entertainments given by the wealthy citizens, are frequent in occurrence, and many of them are upon a large scale. In one instance we found that the number of guests was upwards of seven hundred, and the house was not over-crowded.

The hotels are enormously large; many of them are provided with three hundred beds in each, and others as many as eight hundred to one thousand: the lower rooms fronting the street are being used as shops, and the upper rooms form the hotel. In numerous instances we found that they were resorted to not alone by travellers, but as the temporary home of newly-married persons who had entered upon life without sufficient means to begin housekeeping. It appeared somewhat repulsive to one's ideas

of married life for the husband to be absent all day attending to his pursuits, leaving his wife, perhaps not twenty years of age, to amuse herself amongst the company of the house, picking up all sorts of acquaintance, moving about in those beautiful entertaining rooms, and mixing at the *table d'hote* with every variety of strangers who might happen to be present. From such a beginning it cannot be wondered at that young people should imbibe the desire for a course of life beyond their means to sustain. With a beautiful city, and every arrangement that can be required for the promotion of cleanliness and order, it is greatly to be lamented that the offensive state of the streets should shock the feelings or interrupt the comfort of the visitor. The municipal authorities are inexcusable for neglect of duty in this respect, and if one-half of what was reported of their corrupt practices was true, they are deserving of punishment.

THE MONEY PANIC.

You will doubtless be desirous to hear something concerning the recent money panic, and the troubles which have overtaken the tradespeople there; and, if possible, some sort of conclusion in relation to its origin. The solution of this may not be within our province to deal with; but it would be impossible for any English merchant to visit New York, and not perceive that there are commercial practices, and extravagant habits, which are sufficient of themselves to account for a great deal of this calamity, which in its rebound has so seriously affected us. It would be wrong to lead you to suppose that the conducting of business in the United States was altogether

on a bad principle. This is not the case. There are many wealthy capitalists whose businesses are conducted in a most unexceptionable manner: and notwithstanding all this appearance of unsoundness, the solid wealth of New York is rapidly increasing. The great bulk, however, of the trading and mercantile classes, are represented as being always on the stretch, doing large business upon small capital, and year by year spending every shilling of their profits, and perhaps something more. They enjoy a singular facility for doing large business out of small means, by making sale of their trading risks. They are in the practice of selling bills of exchange without endorsement for whatever amount the credit of the drawer and acceptor may be worth. In this manner persons of small capital may sell goods upon six or eight months' credit; the bill received in payment they may again convert into its saleable value in cash; and thus go on trading until, by some disaster, the house of cards is overthrown.

Credit was said to be easily obtained, and that there was great facility for opening a business, or for making a change from one pursuit to another. The attainment of a business position, based upon enlarged experience, which in this country is so much valued, appeared of so little concern to many persons in the United States, that they would willingly abandon one trade and run into another, expressing themselves quite confident that they fully understood the trade they were entering upon. Extravagance and fast living appeared to prevail to an incredible extent, and the ladies were said to understand this as well as the gentlemen. An instance was remarked upon, and

a lady pointed out to us who was moving about with her carriage and attendants, and living in great style upon the faith of an invention which her husband had recently patented. We saw this invention, and considered it to be utterly worthless. It found no favour with the public, and a month or two afterwards we heard that the building containing the patent had been destroyed by fire!

Passing away from New York, it did not surprise us to hear, in other parts of the country, severe remarks upon that city and the citizens. A gentleman who had left New York, after having resided there upwards of twenty-eight years, considered it the most money-making city in the world, and perhaps the most reckless in extravagance and expense. Another gentleman, one who resided in another part of the country, in expressing his dread of the harrassing effects of extravagance, most gravely declared that he would allow himself to be sent up in a balloon, not knowing where he might drop, rather than consent to marry a wife from New York. There is a generous sympathy in the citizens which is highly becoming. Their public institutions of a charitable nature do them great credit. Upon the adjacent island of Blackwell, they have an orphan asylum for about 1,000 children, besides their infirmary, lunatic asylum, penitentiary, and other similar establishments. The public schools of the city are their best institutions; as indeed they are the best institutions of America.

RAILWAYS.

Our first excursion by railway was from New York to Philadelphia. The carriages, or cars, as they are called, are of great length, and accommodate from forty to fifty persons in each. Down the centre there is a passage having a door at each end, and on both sides of the passage there are seats placed crosswise, holding two persons. All the passengers (coloured persons excepted) are looked upon as of one grade, the same as in travelling by an omnibus. The whole of the company sit exposed to each other, and whatever conversation may be going on, is within the hearing, and exposed to the remarks, of the passengers immediately surrounding. Most of the railways have only one line of rails. In their engineering they generally select level ground, have very few tunnels, and seldom or never have they any bridges passing over the lines of railway. The engineer rings a bell when he approaches a crossing, and a notice board is erected to warn the road passengers, with an inscription in large letters—"Railway crossing: when the bell rings, look out for the engine."

The sides of the railways are unfenced, and by way of provision against any interruption or accident, an iron grating is attached to the fore part of the engine, which they call a "cow-catcher," for securing or removing any animal or other obstacle lying in the way. The railway companies do not provide porters, as in this country, to attend upon the passengers and aid them in the removal of their luggage: and those who are the guards or other servants of the companies, do not usually carry upon them any livery or other insignia of authority.

This idea of independence, no doubt, furnishes the opportunity for many of the paid servants to skulk from the performance of their duty; and to a stranger who may be travelling, it is a matter of considerable inconvenience. There is an appointment of baggage clerk attending the trains, who, at a small rate of charge, undertakes the care and delivery of luggage, and this department is well managed.

MAGNITUDE OF THE COUNTRY.

As we are now beginning to explore the country, let us cast our eyes upon the map, and take a little thought about the geography of that portion of the Western Hemisphere, which now constitutes one of the great powers of the earth. The surface area is computed at three millions of square miles, and is divided for purposes of local and judicial administration into forty states, as England is divided into forty counties; but in order to form some sort of estimate of the difference of magnitude, we must put down the state of New York, which is by no means the largest, as of the same extent as England; or, in other words, the surface of England and Wales being 49,000 square miles, that of the state of New York is 47,000 square miles. The population of the whole of the States in 1850 was, of whites, 19,553,068; free coloured, 434,495; slaves, 3,214,313: total, 23,191,876.* It is evident, therefore, that the country must be very thinly peopled, and that there are existing a vast extent of

* By the last Census (1860), free population, 27,648,643; slaves, 3,999,853:—total, 31,648,496.

natural resources, still unappropriated. A wide field is thus afforded for the enterprise and capital of generations yet unborn.

Perhaps there is no other country in which the inhabitants have already accomplished so much within so short a period. River navigation is nowhere so extensively carried on, nor so well understood; and their railways extend to 26,000 miles, being more than half of all the railroads in the world.

These manifestations of progress are unmistakeable. They denote the prosperity of the country, and the prevailing energy of character in the people, as well as their confidence in those institutions under which they live. Passing along, by railway, through the agricultural portion of the country, the grassy surface of the fields did not appear lively and green, but of a dark brown colour, as though every blade had been deadened by frost. The fences surrounding the fields are formed of splits of timber trees, cut down in clearing the land. They are placed in layers, in a zig-zag form, the points resting one upon another, and, being held down upon each other by their own weight, they don't require to be fastened together with nails. The whitethorn fence, such as we have in this country, appears to be unknown in the United States, or if it grows at all, it is not planted for field fences. The stumps of the trees cut down encumber the ground, interrupt the straight current of the plough, and the appearance of them in such great numbers indicates a slovenly style of farming; but the trouble and expense of their removal appear to prevent any systematic proceeding to have the ground cleared of them. In some few instances

the ground has been cleared by the stump extractor, an apparatus formed as a compound lever, mounted upon wheels, and wrought by a pair of oxen.

PHILADELPHIA.

This city is the capital of the State of Pennsylvania, and owes its origin to that noble-minded Christian statesman, William Penn, whose memory is still greatly honoured by the citizens. It was during a period of religious persecution in England, that it became his declared object to establish this colony, and thereby to "afford an asylum to the good and oppressed of all nations; to frame a government which might be an example to the world at large, and thus to show men as free and as happy as they could be." The house in which he resided in the city, and the locality of the elm tree under the shade of which he entered into treaty with the Indians, are still cherished objects of regard. Since the date of this treaty in 1682, the city and suburbs have become of great mercantile importance, and contain upwards of half-a-million of inhabitants. The principal streets run east and west, and they are crossed at right angles with other streets running north and south: some of them are upwards of one hundred feet broad, and their names indicate the rural simplicity of their origin, such as "pine, spruce, walnut, chesnut, &c." The State House is the most interesting object. It was in the hall of this building that the "Declaration of Independence" was signed in 1776. Philadelphia upholds a reputation for philanthropy, and possesses upwards of forty institutions for benevolent purposes. The Girard College, which is the largest of them,

was founded by an eccentric individual, Stephen Girard, as an Asylum and School for Orphans, at the cost of nearly £400,000. The principal building is after the design of a Greek temple, and is the most imposing and costly edifice in the United States, excepting only the Capitol of Washington.

Having spoken of the existence of more than forty institutions of a benevolent character, it will not be necessary to define the particular purposes of each; those which we saw were on a large scale, and well conducted. It is deserving of notice, and highly honourable to have to record, the readiness with which the wealthy classes come forward, when called upon, for any public object. We heard of the proposed enlargement of an asylum, at the cost of £50,000, and the subscriptions soon amounted to nearly £60,000. In another instance, which also occurred during our visit, an enlargement of a public park was proposed, the money was very speedily raised; and we heard of two brothers—the Messrs. Cope—who had subscribed £2,000 each.

SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION.

Throughout the historical proceedings of the United States, there abounds one universal expression of solicitude for the training and education of the youth, not alone for material and spiritual advantages, but to enable the rising population to wield with effect the representative power which has been vested in their hands. This duty has not been taken up by the federal government, but has been undertaken by each and every one of the individual states, and is being conducted at an unsparing expense.

As an instance of the operation of the system, we will take the example of New York. The city is formed into wards, each of the wards elects its own board of officers, and the officers so elected form a board of education, invested with power to erect schools, and conduct every arrangement in relation to schooling. In this manner every elector has, once a year, the opportunity of making selection from amongst the candidates offering, of that individual whom he is most willing to entrust with the education of his own children, and with permission to lay a tax upon himself for the payment. According to the census of 1855, the population of New York was 629,810. The number of public schools in 1856 was 253, the teachers employed were 1,200, the number of scholars in attendance at these schools was 47,584, and the expenditure of the year was £220,000. These schools are open to children of every grade in life, to receive any amount of education they may desire; and in the High School, or Free Academy, the students may remain to the age of twenty-one. One of the principals assured us that education in the public schools was adopted with the same freedom by the rich as by the poor; that the sons of the labouring hod-carrier and those of the highest citizens were frequently found side by side in the same class; and that by reason of such contact, the delicacy of habits prevailing among the sons of the wealthy did not degenerate into gross demeanour, but, on the contrary, the sons of the working class were but too glad to avail themselves of the examples of the more refined, as a means, in their opinion, whereby to promote their own advancement in life.

It has been found that the characteristic gentleness of female teachers is very important in the influence they exercise upon children; and as there is also an economy of wages in the employment of females, they are very extensively engaged in school teaching in every part of the Union. At the Normal Training School of New York, the attendance was reported to be from six to seven hundred female teachers. The schooling of Philadelphia is of the same character as that of New York, excepting only that it is conducted at less expense, because the directors hire a good many of their schools, instead of building school premises of their own.

The interest attaching to education in the estimation of the public, we had the opportunity of observing. At the closing of the term of the High School, there was an assembly of upwards of 4,000 persons to witness the display of school attainments of the students who were leaving. The day was held as a gala day. The school directors, along with the students, occupied the platform of a large hall, and the students acquitted themselves with great ability in the delivery of compositions of their own, in most of which the amiable qualities were prominent, together with an earnest patriotism,—altogether affording the best guarantee of individual comfort and national progress. The enthusiasm of the audience was almost unbounded. Upon those who displayed most cleverness, the ladies showered bouquets of flowers; and the gentlemen expressed their encomiums without measure. The exhibition lasted about three hours, and was closed by a very fatherly exhortation from the principal to the pupils. He reminded them that "they were now entering upon the affairs and

duties of life; that they were each of them in possession of a certificate of their collegiate proficiency, and of their unblemished reputation; and he enjoined upon them ever to uphold those high principles of religion and virtue which had been inculcated by their teachers; and in whatever condition of life they should hereafter be found, that they should cherish with esteem the remembrance of those who had thus laboured for their welfare." Indeed, from the established character of the students, the demand for them is so large, that they are regularly advertised for by the merchants of the city: indeed it is a noble spectacle to observe the manner in which America is engaged in the training of her sons.

COTTON MANUFACTURE.

Near the Falls of the Schuylkill we visited some extensive cotton mills. This concern had spinning and weaving for 1,200 looms. The manufacture was a description of strong cloth for trousers, wrought into twills, stripes, and checks, of almost every shade of colour, to the extent of 300 varieties. The cotton was dyed in a raw state as it came from the bale, by being immersed in the dye vats in wire baskets for about twenty-four hours; afterwards it was dried, and carefully opened for operation for spinning. There was a great deal of ingenuity displayed in the weaving department, especially in the arrangement of the shuttles carrying the different colours of weft, and in their displacing of one another in the formation of the patterns. The goods were bleached and calendered on the spot, and the bales were packed and sent away in readiness for distribution to the retail trader of the south.

BALTIMORE.

Passing from Philadelphia to Baltimore, about 100 miles distant, the railway is intercepted by the Susquehanna river, at a point which is about a mile in breadth, and the crossing of passengers is effected by a steam boat. Upon this occasion the boat having got frozen amongst the ice, the passengers were invited to walk across the river upon planks, in order that they might escape the holes and tender parts of the ice. The danger appeared imminent, but we crossed in safety.

The city of Baltimore is situated upon the Potapsco River, entering the Chesapeake Bay. A century ago it consisted of nine houses only, and in 1850 the population had reached 169,054. We arrived late in the evening, and next morning the object we first saw before us was a monument of white marble, called the "Battle Column," to commemorate the names of those who fell in defence of the city when attacked by the British forces in 1814. Baltimore has been called the monumental city, probably by way of compliment to the public spirit of the inhabitants in the erection of another monument, 176 feet high, in memory of Washington, whom every true American honours as the "Father of his Country." We thought there was an aspect of great respectability prevailing about the city.

The most important-looking edifice is the Mechanics' Institute, 355 feet long and 60 feet wide; the principal hall holds 6,000 persons. Baltimore is largely engaged in the export of grain and flour. It is the natural outlet or a large region of country which is principally under

grain cultivation. Flour mills are numerous, and in one of them we saw a very systematic and economic arrangement for grinding, preparing, and barrelling of the flour. There are also several large manufactories of agricultural implements. The proprietor of one of these allowed us to see through his works; and the extent of his trade may be estimated by his annual business returns, one item of which consisted of 5,000 ploughs, besides other farming implements and tools, ranging from the thrashing machine to the churn and wheelbarrow. Timber for these purposes is cheap, and may be had at 1s. per cubic foot. The ploughs and other implements are not constructed of iron, as in this country, but of wood, and the several parts are wrought by machinery, through the various operations of planing, grooving, morticing, and shamfering of the edges. Each of these several parts being of uniform shape, can be warehoused, and afterwards sent away in execution of orders.

WASHINGTON.

This city is not only the seat of government, but the great centre of political existence in the United States. Our visit occurred upon the expiration of the official term of President Pearce, and before the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan, when the legislators, the planters, merchants, and others of the most stirring people of the country were present. The opportunity thus afforded enabled us to enjoy a most acceptable range of intercourse, as well as for observing and forming an estimate of the social, civil, and political aspect of this metropolis of the States. Previous to the year 1790, Congress had been accus-

tomed to assemble at Philadelphia. At the suggestion of General Washington, a territory of one hundred square miles in extent, was appropriated as the future seat of government. The design of the city was executed under the direction of Washington himself: the streets appear unnecessarily wide—they radiate from two central points, and take their names from the various states of the Union. The "Capitol" or Houses of Parliament, is an immense mass of building of white marble, and when the enlargement now in progress has been completed, the entire edifice will cover four acres of ground, and will be the most magnificent public building in the United States. In the centre is the Rotunda, of ninety-six feet diameter, and in the panels which surround the basement storey, there are four bas-relievos of historical subjects of great interest to that country, such as Penn's Treaty with the Indians; the Landing of the Pilgrims, &c. &c.

There are several other public buildings which are noble specimens of architecture, such as the Treasury, the Patent Office, the Post Office, and the "White House," the residence of the President. The public monuments of General Washington and of Jefferson are interesting objects; and the Observatory also, which is in charge of Lieutenant Maury, the well-known author of a work of great merit on the "Currents of the Ocean."

The Smithsonian Institution is a very large modern building, ornamented with towers in the Romanesque style of architecture. This institution owes its existence to an English gentleman, who, having led a life of retired and studious habits, left a large sum of money to be

expended at Washington, for the founding of an "Establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The professors and those who have charge of it, are making rapid progress in carrying out this enlightened design, and already a beneficial influence has been derived by the diffusion of scientific knowledge, annually distributed amongst the literary institutions of every country. One of the subjects of leading interest with the executive council, has been the collection of portraits of Indian Chiefs, and others of celebrity of that race who are now fast disappearing from the country. We saw a gallery of about a hundred portraits. Many of the characters were strongly marked by nature, and bore the indications of a rude, thoughtful kind of intelligence; but their lineaments were miserably defaced by the decoration, as they conceived, of tatooing. The architecture of the Patent Office is after the celebrated Pantheon. The object of the building is to afford the necessary accommodation for patented inventions. Model representations are exhibited in great numbers, and there are also some specimens of natural history, &c.; but amongst the most interesting of the articles we saw, was the original manuscript Declaration of Independence, with all the signatures attached; and the printing press which had been worked by Franklin at the time of his first residence in London.

The associations of Washington became suggestive of a widely different and more important study than that of city architecture. Taking a comprehensive survey of the brief and successful career of the United States, it

appears necessary that we should comprehend the political organisation which has founded and sustained an extent of national and individual prosperity hitherto unexampled. The recognition of the "Sovereignty of the People" seems to have formed the basis of all American institutions. The founders having sprung from one dead level, it has been their policy to establish an electoral power of the widest range, and thereby to uphold the self-respect as well as the authority of the citizens, by placing entirely in their hands the determination of fitness of every candidate for official appointment, whether in the township, the city, the county, the state, the federal legislature, the appointment of the judges who administer the laws, or the President of the Union. The frequency of electoral appeals appears to have a sustaining effect upon the independent character of electors. They all of them insist upon being considered "citizens," and not "subjects," of the state; and so jealous are they of their independence, that they make constant display of it in the everyday concerns of life, and to an extent that borders upon rudeness.

Each state is an independent republic, having a local character in its functions, and a representative character in returning its senators to the legislature. Congress consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate is composed of two members from each state, chosen as before stated by the legislatures of the several states, for the term of six years, one-third of whom go out biennially. The senators must be thirty years of age, nine years citizens of the states, and inhabiting the state for which they are returned. The regular number

is 62; and the Vice-President of the United States is President of the Senate. The House of Representatives is composed of members from the several states, elected by the people for the term of two years. The representatives are apportioned among the different states, according to population. The present number is 234, besides eight delegates returned by Oregon and other recent annexations, who are allowed to speak, but not to vote.

The annual salary of the President is.....£5,000
That of the Vice-President and seven others of the Executive Department who form the Cabinet, each £1,600
The compensation allowed to members during attendance in Congress, is (per day) .....£1. 13s. 4d.
And for every 20 miles of travelling, in going to and returning from the seat of government .....£1. 13s. 4d.
The revenue for the year 1856, derived from customs and the sale of public lands, was.....£14,783,000
The expenditure in the army department, 12,688 soldiers, was £3,389,639
In the navy department the number of the men is not given, but the cost is £2,815,000

The legislature allows of no pensions; and if any warlike emergency should arise, they contract with generals and other officers for a given period of service, at a fixed rate of payment; and when the service is ended, the parties so engaging again retire into private life, or resume some profession or pursuit, as other citizens do. Our introductory letters brought us into a wide range of intercourse with the leading officials, and with many members of the two Houses of Congress, which we deemed not only a privilege, but a source of enjoyment.

The Senators appeared older and more deliberative men than those of the lower house. An inquiry was at that time pending in which the parties concerned, who were

members of the lower house, were charged with corrupt practices. This inquiry, and the proceedings of the Congress, were interesting to a stranger, and therefore we may relate some portion of what occurred. One of the representatives introduced us into the body of the house, and before the business commenced, we had an agreeable conversation with the Speaker.

When the Speaker had taken his seat, a venerable-looking old man immediately rose, and proceeded to invoke a blessing upon the deliberations of the day. We remarked to our friend the member, that their Congress, unlike our Parliament, allowed the chaplain of the house to enter their presence unadorned with any official gown or sacerdotal dress. He replied, "You will not see any finery here,—neither the Speaker nor any other official is distinguishable by any outward badge of servitude. The old gentleman, the chaplain, as you are pleased to designate him, is one of the few remaining officers who served his country in the War of Independence; he is now 94 years of age, and is not well provided for, therefore he is willing to accept a small sum annually, not as a pension (you know that pensioners we have none), but by way of compensation for coming once a day to ask a blessing upon what we are doing." Every member has a writing desk before him, and nearly every one appeared absorbed in giving attention to his correspondence; and very few took any notice of the proceedings of the house. It was very common for a member to be seen addressing the house under considerable excitement, whilst those who were sitting close at hand would be coolly engaged in writing letters or turning

over folds of papers, and looking quite unimpassioned. We observed an instance of irregularity and want of attention in taking the votes. A member whose name was called over answered "Aye." Some time afterwards this gentleman appeared to discover that he had made a mistake, and requested permission of the Speaker to have his votereversed, alleging, as his reason, that he had been engaged at his desk, and had inadvertently voted the wrong way. Leave was given, and the vote was reversed. Another instance was one of amusement; it was that of a motion for a grant of money to explore the river Niger in Africa; and the clerk at the table, in reading the form of resolution, fell into the very understandable error of proposing a grant of money for exploring the river "Nigger!" There were other proceedings which would be equally open to remark, as indicating a legislative disregard of that dignity which would be becoming of an assembly upon whom there is resting so weighty a responsibility.

SLAVERY.

Discussions of a party political character were frequent, and we did not fail to notice that the subjects upon which the parties appeared most confident, often proved to be those upon which, in reality, they were most nervous. For instance, slavery was in everybody's mouth. Those from the north would exclaim against the sin and the reproach which rested upon their country by reason of the proceedings of the south,—ever making parade of their own example in having liberated the slaves which had belonged to themselves. The southerners were not

slow to remind those of the north that they had taken care to hold possession of their slaves until they had got a sufficient supply of white emigrants, from Ireland and from Germany, whom they greatly preferred to serve them; and it was *then*, and not before, that they had sold out their slaves to the south, or had turned them adrift and having called upon the rest of the world to extol their philanthropy, they had thrown reproach upon the southerners, who they well knew had no white emigrants to fall back upon. Incidental remarks bearing upon the subject were often being bandied about. The southerners would appeal to the northern men, whether they had ever known an instance in which a member of an American family had become a domestic servant; and the answer uniformly given was, that such a case was unknown. Upon this admission, the case against the northern people was deemed conclusive, namely, that the northern people who required such servants would have retained to this day the slaves they held, if the emigrants from Europe had not, in so convenient a manner, superseded the necessity of their retaining possession of them any longer. It was remarked of the negro race, that in those states where they had been liberated from slavery, they had not only not increased as the white population had done, but that they had gradually diminished in numbers, chiefly by reason of their want of forethought, the neglect of their children in infancy, and the improvident and reprehensible courses which they pursued.

A gentleman from Philadelphia, an eminent merchant, one of the visiting directors of a large philanthropic institution, and who was by no means favourable to slavery,

expressed his sorrow and regret that within a mile of his own city residence he could find, in the dwellings of the free blacks, a greater extent of distress, squalor, and misery, than could probably be found in any other place in the world. These remarks may serve to indicate the state of party feeling, and the spirit in which the subject was being discussed in Washington. The northern people feel sore, and express themselves strongly as being dishonoured by the slavery of the south, and the southerners complain of the oratorical and maddening excitement kept up by the north.

AMERICAN SMARTNESS.

You have no doubt heard of the "smartness" of the Americans. An instance of this kind of sharp practice may serve the purpose of illustration. One morning, whilst we were loitering about in the entrance hall of the hotel, an errand boy inquired if he might fetch a newspaper from the office, next door. Having brought the paper, and received a five cent piece, he called out sharply, "It is all right, sir," and was walking away. Referring to the cost of the paper, which was only two cents, we remonstrated; and he insisted that his claim as messenger was three cents! He then turned round in a jaunty way and holding up the five cent piece, called out "Here's the money, and if you think my charge too much, you can give me back the paper, and fetch one yourself."

This description of "smartness" would appear to receive encouragement, if we may judge from the remarks of an American traveller, lately returned from Europe,

who was describing the English hotels, cab-drivers, porters, &c., and with an air of exultation he remarked that he had been better cheated in the three weeks since his return to America, than during the whole eleven months of his absence in England.

We do not in any unfriendly spirit remark upon the political and other occurrences at Washington: indeed it would appear ungenerous not to acknowledge the very acceptable manner in which we were received by families residing in the city, and by great numbers of visitors from all parts of the union.

Leaving Washington, we descended the Potomac River by steamer, passing the mansion of Mount Vernon, which will ever be memorable as the residence of General Washington. Landing at Aquia Creek, we joined the railway, and proceeded to Charleston, a distance of 650 miles, without leaving the carriages. The time occupied was forty-eight hours; the journey was harrassing, and there was not any midway station which afforded the appearance of comfort. The principal part of the way was through pine forests; the country was thinly inhabited, and the population were mostly employed in procuring turpentine from the trees.

On our way through Richmond, the train received about fifty negro slaves, as passengers to New Orleans. About one-half of these were men, and the rest women and children. They were well dressed, and appeared less painfully impressed with their condition than we should have expected. One of the conductors informed us they had carried about 6,000 in the previous six weeks.

SECOND LECTURE.

CHARLESTON—SOUTH CAROLINA.

The city and locality of Charleston introduced us into that region which constitutes the party-political division of South against North, and North against South, and the subject of slavery came more immediately under our observation. This city, like the cities of New York and Philadelphia, is situated upon a neck of land betwixt two rivers, or sheets of water, and stands in front of a wide bay upon the Atlantic. The formation of the streets, and arrangement of the houses into square blocks, also resemble the northern cities; but with this exception, that here the houses are mostly composed of wood, and the sides of the streets are lined with magnolias, palmettoes, and other shady trees, with ornamental gardens. The population is about 45,000, nearly one-half of whom are slaves, or free coloured.

A considerable portion of the inhabitants are of French origin, being the descendants of those who took refuge here at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The people are frank and hospitable, and the general tone of society is refined and intelligent. The business department of the city is principally that of receiving for export and distribution the productions of South Carolina, consisting mostly of cotton and rice. In the year 1804, the port of Charleston was allowed to be opened for

four years for the importation of Africans, and during that time 202 vessels are reported to have entered with slaves from that country. Of these

The imports in British ships were	19,649
Do. French ships	1,078
By Citizens of the United States	14,605
Do. Slave-holding States	3,443
Total number imported	38,775

Our attention was directed to this tabular statement, shewing that the great bulk of the slaves imported were brought thither by the natives of those countries which are now the foremost in repudiating slavery. It deserves to be recorded as an event of some interest in the commercial history of Charleston, that in the year 1832 the inhabitants, together with those of the whole of South Carolina, took the lead in the Free-Trade movement, by resisting a high tariff of duties for the avowed purpose of protection, and to encourage the establishment of manufactures in the States of the North. At that time South Carolina was the chief producer of raw cotton, the great staple article of export, and therefore she would be the principal sufferer from the designs of the protective system. She had herself no manufactures to protect, and could procure all she required for her own consumption far more cheaply from the British manufacturers, who were her best customers for the raw produce. She also felt the dread of retaliation which might have resulted from a design so pointedly aimed against the interests of Great Britain. At length this state made a display of military force, and formed an organized attack upon the whole protective system of the Union, and thereby a political

crisis was produced which menaced the stability of the Union by the threatened nullification of its acts.

Until this time the idea of a dissolution of the Union, although it might have been conceived, had not been outspoken. The tariff dispute, however, invested that question with all the appearance of substantial reality. The contest assumed a bold position, and this premeditated dissolution of the Union by the parties of the South, was speedily followed by a preparation for collision. South Carolina raised and armed her troops, and they were being marched and drilled in sight of the Federal forces. At length, however, the pending evil was averted by a compromise. The spirit of free-trade still survives in Charleston, and it was quite animating to receive the congratulations of Charleston upon the success of our free-trade proceedings in England.

The locality of South Carolina and Georgia will ever possess an interest with those who are engaged in the spinning and manufacture of Sea Islands cotton. The factories of Bolton are said to consume a greater quantity of this cotton than those of any other place; therefore, the subject of its growth may be deemed of some considerable interest, from its being so intimately connected with our local industry. Possibly those who have been engaged in the operations of spinning Sea Islands cotton, may not have considered how large an amount of employment they have afforded to those engaged in the manufacture of light and beautiful fabrics, as well as lace, at Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby. The finest specimens of this raw cotton are sold for as much as four shillings per pound. A single pound of it has been extended by

spinning to the length of 1,000 miles; and when manufactured into lace it has even become of the value of £200. It would, therefore, be difficult to find any other raw material,—the precious metals scarcely expected,—furnishing so large an extent of employment as is now capable of being supplied by the manipulation of this kind of cotton.

According to Mr. Elliott, one of the oldest planters of Sea Islands cotton, in his "Address to the Imperial Agricultural Society of France," in 1855, the seed of this plant was brought from the Bahama Islands to the state of Georgia, between the years 1785 and 1790; and afterwards it was introduced into South Carolina, the state which is now the largest producer. It is upon the small islands of these states, which are watered by the tides of the Atlantic, that this cotton is grown. Upon some of these islands which we visited, more particularly Edisto Island and John's Island, we received very friendly attention from the most distinguished of the planters;—gentlemen whose names will be familiarly known to our chairman, and to other cotton spinners now present, such as Elliott, Townsend, Seabrook, Mikel, and others: and it is to the politeness of these gentlemen that we are indebted for the information we possess upon the cultivation of this delicate plant. The growth of Sea Islands, more than any other kind of cotton, is influenced by climate, by the composition of the soil, and by the state of the atmosphere. The plant is extremely sensitive of the effects of air and vapour; hence, in some favoured localities, the quality of the production improves, and in others not far distant it degenerates. The lands which are most favour-

able for its cultivation, are the numberless small islands extending along the sea coast, and divided one from another by narrow creeks, which receive tidal waters from the sea; and also the river waters descending from the interior of the country, loaded as they are with alluvial matter, which forms a deposit. These islands, and the lands lying adjacent, which partake freely of a saline atmosphere, having a dry soil that admits of a dressing of sea mud, in which silex prevails, are the favoured grounds for the skill of the planter in raising the choicest of his crops. Those lands which are lying more distant from the atmosphere of the sea, if dry and well manured with sea weeds, salt mud, or the sweepings of the farm yard, to stimulate the growth, will also yield successful crops. But, eventually, it is found that distance from the sea forms a barrier which the use of saline manure is unable to overcome; and when the cultivation is attempted in such places, even at the distance of ten miles from the ocean, the result is coarseness and inferiority of staple.

In the month of February the ground is cleared of the deadened stalks of the previous season; it is then ploughed into drills of four and a-half feet asunder, and the manure is introduced during the operation. In the months of March and April, according to the state of the weather, the seeds are deposited. From this time till the month of August, the plants are thinned and weeded, and the roots nourished by raising up a layer of soil by the plough or the hoe. In August, the bolls are so far ripened that the picking or harvesting is commenced, and for several months afterwards all hands are busied in gathering, sorting, cleaning, ginning, and packing the cotton. The pro-

duct varies from 120 to 150 lbs. of cleaned cotton to the acre, and from three to five acres may be cultivated by each hand. The quantity of seeds which are raised in proportion to the cotton, appears very considerable; and in fine cottons it frequently happens that only one pound of clean cotton is derived from five pounds of the ripened pods which have been gathered. The plant is liable to receive severe injury from the visits of a great number of insects, —and more particularly from a caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and unripe pods, sometimes destroying as much as three-fourths of the entire crop. The incursions of the caterpillar are not annual, but periodical: sometimes they are not seen for four or five years in succession. The Sea Island plant has now been introduced into the state of Florida, and appears to promise an agreeable amount of success. The quality of the cotton hitherto raised in Florida has been inferior to that of Georgia and South Carolina, but it is very useful for the generality of purposes. The annual crop of Sea Islands is about 45,000 bags.

There has recently been introduced an improved machine, called the "Macarthy Gin," for separating the cotton from the great mass of seeds by which it is surrounded in the pod. It performs a much larger quantity of work than the roller gin previously in use; and apprehensions have been raised that this new process would injure the staple, but hitherto it had not been ascertained to have had any pernicious effect. Any injury, however slight, would be greatly to be dreaded by the planters; and on several of the plantations we found that although the Macarthy gin was regularly employed in cleaning the

commoner kinds of cottons, the roller gin was still resorted to for the finer kinds.

In travelling through these islands, many of them appeared to be overflowed by the tidal waters, and tanks were formed for collecting deposits of mud. Those which were uncultivated were covered with long grass, reeds, and bulrushes, and we saw that alligators were moving about upon them. All this moisture so widely distributed over the country, together with the decayed vegetable matter lying exposed to a scorching sun, appeared to afford every element for the creation of those malignant fevers which cause the white man to flee to the mountains or to the sea coast during the summer, whilst to the negro they are harmless vapours. The estate of a cotton planter looks fertile and pleasing to the eye of the beholder—teeming with every production of grain as well as cotton; the gardens and orchards also, with every variety of flowers and fruit; the homestead with animals and fowls of various kinds, all indicating the pleasing aspect of abundance. The possession of it, however, involves an immense amount of responsibility,—one which the generality of persons would be extremely desirous to avoid. The negro community by which the planter is surrounded, recognise in him their possessor, and therefore they look to the hand of their master in every emergency which befalls them. There are seen about his dwelling hundreds of men, women, and children, some of whom are too old to labour, others too young; some of them willing, and others unwilling to work; some quarrelsome, others contented; and every one running to him for whatever they may have need of, whether in health or

in sickness. Hospitals, with well-trained nurses in attendance, are regularly provided by the planters; indeed, if no higher motive existed than their pecuniary value, it would be of importance that the slaves should be sustained in health. It was, however, very obvious that the proper feelings of humanity *did* predominate. One gentleman, whom we remarked looking careworn and exhausted, informed us that for six weeks he had been giving personal attention—night and day—to the nursing of sixty of the children of his slaves, who had been having the measles; that the occasion for his continued presence had been, not alone to administer the medicines, but to preserve the children from unsuitable treatment, even from their parents.

The labour on the plantations is mostly conducted on a system of piece-work, which the labourers can easily perform in six or eight hours; and afterwards they have the command of overtime for cultivating their own little patches of ground, or for raising their fowls and pigs for their own individual profit. As it is more than fifty years since any of the negroes were imported from Africa, those of the coloured race of America, although of African blood, are now, in effect, the naturalised population of the country. On some of the principal estates the removals have not been frequent; and in these cases the ties of local and social attachment are said to be strong. Being upon Edisto Island on a Sunday, we attended one of the chapels, which belonged to the Presbyterian body. The congregation was large, probably as many as 600 were present, of whom there might be about 200 white and 400 coloured persons. The coloured people were all of them

slaves; they appeared comfortable, well-dressed, and many of them rather showy. It was the day of Communion, and at the close of the sermon, about eighty of the whites partook the ministration of the Sacrament. When they had retired, the table was surrounded by about 120 of the coloured people, and we observed that the minister, elders, and deacons again officiated in like manner, and the same degree of solemnity and decorum was manifested by the coloured recipients. We inquired of one of the ministers in attendance, whom we afterwards met, whether this religious service that we had observed was at all unusual? and he informed us that it was not, but that on the contrary, there was upon John's Island, which is adjoining to Edisto Island, and in the congregation over which he had charge, a much larger than this number of coloured communicants; and in the Methodist and Episcopalian bodies there, the number was considerably larger than in his. This gentleman was originally from Scotland, and as he had resided seventeen years in South Carolina, he had become attached to the country. He said he could relate a great deal that would appear surprising, of the religious feeling and very becoming deportment which had come under his notice in his intercourse with the coloured population. That although he still retained many of his early impressions in relation to slavery, yet the many painful scenes he had witnessed amongst the poor dependent classes in Great Britain and Ireland, had not passed away from his remembrance. That he often contrasted these recollections of his early life, with the state of things around him in South Carolina, where the negro had to incur the loss of his liberty; and

he felt convinced that, on the whole, the negro was a gainer in the amount of care and attention which was daily exercised by his employer for his welfare, and in the greater amount of domestic comfort he was enjoying, as compared with the peasantry of places which he could name within the British Isles.

Upon our return to Charleston we remained some days amongst our friends, before setting sail for Cuba; and this time was very agreeably spent in social intercourse, and in our observation of whatever might be interesting about the city. Before the rapid rise of the cotton growing states on the Mississippi, the state of South Carolina was the chief producer of short-stapled cottons, such as we now receive from New Orleans. A considerable quantity of this class of cotton is still produced in South Carolina and the adjoining states, which is shipped at Charleston; but the unexhausted soils of the West have attracted many of the planters from South Carolina, and, therefore, the export trade of Charleston has not, of late years, increased in the same extent as that of New Orleans or of Mobile. The bay of Charleston is incommoded with sand, which obstructs the navigation; and we found that an ingenious mechanist there had invented a dredging machine to clear the accumulations of sand, by adopting the principle of exhaustion or suction. The invention appeared quite new, and the success of the experiment was very cheering, so much so that the inventor was ready enough to insist that he could make it tear up the pavement of the streets. We also saw a machine for ropemaking, for the binding of cotton bales. The strands forming the several parts of the rope were brought to-

gether, not by elongation in a ropewalk, but by winding them upon bobbins, and twisting them together upon the principle of the bobbin and flyer used in cotton machinery.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

Our presence as British subjects in Charleston, and amidst so large a number of persons in every grade of life who were one and all identified with the system of slavery, necessarily had the effect of bringing out in discussion whatever could be said in defence on either side of the question: it is therefore only just and reasonable that in relating whatever we heard upon the subject, the case of the pro-slavery party should be stated. The substance of the arguments amounted to this,—that the universally-recognised necessity of sugar and of cotton to supply the daily wants of civilised life prevailed in every country. That the growth of these articles was utterly impossible excepting upon lands which are bordering on the tropics, amidst swamps, and in those climates where the white man cannot labour, and the black man can; therefore, if these articles are grown at all, the black man must grow them. That by nature the blacks were unable of themselves to organise any system of labour, and they required the aid of the white man to direct their proceedings. That they were also unable to accumulate large capital, or to invent any operation of mechanism. That it was with difficulty they could be taught to construct; and that nowhere on earth could there be found any architectural or other tracing or record of their previous existence as a race. That hence there was a propriety, as well as necessity, that they should fall under the care and supervision of the

white man, for certain purposes of usefulness in the creation. That the holders of slaves had divine as well as human authority for holding their fellow-men in a state of bondage, inasmuch as in the same book (the book of Leviticus) the Hebrews were instructed "to buy the children of the stranger, and to hold the inheritance of them as a possession for ever:" and this was found side by side with the divine injunction to "love their neighbours as themselves." That the existence of slavery in the United States had been of British origin, and had continued to be nourished by British shipping as long as America would consent to receive the slaves of Africa. That the slave owners of the present day were often painfully reflected upon by those of other classes; but they considered themselves to be clear of any guilt in the matter. That slavery in the United States was a state institution, of remote origin, and that in many instances the present proprietors were the descendants of the slave owners of a former period, holding their plantations and their slaves, not from any choice of their own, but from inheritance. They denied the allegation so often reiterated, that the condition of slavery was a "traffic in human souls;" and, as masters, they disclaimed the holding of any property in the "rational, moral, and immortal," but in the right of labour only.

We drew attention to the fact—as we supposed it to be, having so often heard it asserted in this country and not contradicted—that by some recent enactment it was deemed a penal offence for any one to teach a negro to read. To this remark one of our friends replied, that there was upon the statute book a law to that effect,—not a recent enact-

ment, but an unrepealed statute enacted by the British when the country was a colony; but that in effect this law was now no law at all, as its provisions had long since ceased to be regarded. That the little "niggers," as he called them, could any day be seen running to and from school, carrying their books in straps. He then named two or three young ladies, the daughters of a planter, at whose house we had recently been as visitors; and stated that he had himself been present on Sundays, when he had seen those young ladies teaching the negro children to read, and afterwards reading sermons to the older people; adding, emphatically—"Do you think that they would continue to bestow this attention to their father's slaves, if they had any dread that it was an offence for which they were liable next day to be imprisoned?

Finally, the appeal against myself, as a British subject, was urged in the following graphic terms:—If the raising of cotton and sugar by slave labour does constitute a theft, as the English abolitionists have insisted, surely the receiving of goods so stolen, whether by purchase or otherwise, must constitute a participation in the crime; and in this case the British people themselves were the greatest of moralists, and the greatest of sinners! and it might be added, that as consumers of cotton and sugar, they must make up their minds either to sin or starve.

We may have had the worst of it in the discussion, yet we do not hesitate to give the substance of the remarks which we heard, as we had not been previously aware that the slave owners had any other plea than that they had a law, and that by their law they held possession of their slaves after the manner of property. There were

three if not four distinct phases of slavery came under our notice, each of which will be brought under observation in the order in which we found them in those parts of the country to which they severally belong;—that of South Carolina being the most advanced towards a state of intelligence and Christian liberty. As before remarked, more than fifty years have elapsed since the last importations from Africa; consequently, those now on the plantations are natives of the country, trained to habits of industry from early childhood, and, in fact, might be called citizens. They reside in small communities on the plantations; and, judging by the social aspect which they presented amongst themselves, there was always going on amongst them a cheerful, animated sort of village gossip, which would impress a stranger very favourably of their contentment, if he could for the moment forget the two words "liberty" and "slavery."

PROCEEDING SOUTHWARD.

Our next proceeding was by the steamer *Isabel* for Havana, calling at Key West, in Florida, which is the most southerly point of the United States. In approaching these latitudes, we found it necessary to cast off, day by day, some portion of the warm clothing we had provided for winter. Passing along the coast of Florida, for hundreds of miles we never saw either man or beast, nor anything like a house or dwelling. The country, as far as could be judged of its appearance, resembled the swampy cotton lands of Georgia and South Carolina. Key West is the largest settlement in Florida, and contains only about 2,300 inhabitants, who are mainly engaged in wreck-

ing;—seeing that upon this coast there is considerable danger to shipping from the prevalence of coral reefs. The coral is one of those animals which resemble a plant, a sub-marine plant of great hardness, and of a stony nature, and forming reefs, or small islands, which often lie submerged in the sea, and are very dangerous to mariners. The wreckers of Key West are, humanly speaking, a class of "stormy petrels," who subsist upon disasters to shipping, and rejoice at the presence of a fog or a storm. There are laws and regulations to provide against any improper advantage in the name of salvage.*

The state of Florida, having been one of the recent annexations, is still inhabited to some extent by the Indian tribes, who have sometimes fallen upon those settlers who have made unwelcome incursions upon their hunting grounds; therefore, the government of the United States have placed at Key West a garrison of soldiers for the purpose of destroying or of expelling the Indians; and at the time of our visit, the governor informed us that on the previous evening a party of troopers from the garrison had returned after an absence of a month in search of Indians amongst the swamps and thickets.

Some idea may be formed of the character and hardship of the soldiers' mission, from the fact that they had during their absence been exposed to the weather, and to the uncertainties of finding their necessary supplies of food. They had been unable to meet with a single Indian, and had not a shoe on their feet, nor a thread of clothing

* During the fourteen years preceeding 1858, there were 655 vessels wrecked or disabled at this point, the value of which, with the cargoes, was £5,000,000; the expenses incurred were £500,000.

below the knees, and had been upwards of thirty hours without tasting food.

CUBA.

Having taken our leave of the wintry north, we felt an enjoyable emotion in our approach to the land where the orange, the palm, and the myrtle abound. It was at sunrise, under the balmy influences of one of those lovely mornings such as in this country we have about midsummer, when we entered the beautiful harbour of Havana, and placed our little steamer among the crowd of shipping and the waving flags of almost every country. Upon the sloping sides of a hill, the broad white outlines of the city were lying stretched before us; and it was indeed an enlivening scene of novelty and beauty such as we have seldom looked upon. The bay is entered by a channel, about 500 yards in width, guarded on one side by the celebrated Moro Castle, and on the other by a fort called the Punta. Upon a rock adjoining the castle is a modern built lighthouse of 265 feet in height, with a revolving lantern, of French construction, which affords light, in favourable weather, as far as thirty miles out at sea.

Cuba is called the "Queen of the Antilles," and is situated within the tropics; it is 700 miles long, by an average of about fifty in breadth, being rather over 30,000 square miles in extent. It is a Spanish possession, governed on the antiquated colonial system of Spain, which in these times, may be called semi-barbarous; the authority being vested in an officer called the "Captain-General," who is accustomed to exercise his power in a

very despotic manner. The population of the island, according to estimate, is 750,000 slaves, 100,000 free coloured, 520,000 whites; total, 1,370,000.* The industry of the country is employed in the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, and coffee; by far the largest extent being in sugar. The annual revenue derived to Spain is supposed to be one million sterling, besides the sums expended for the government of the island, and upon the embassies of Spain in the adjoining countries of the United States and Mexico.

The city of Havana is of the Moorish style of architecture, the houses are of a castellated form and flat roofed, the outer walls painted and decorated in lines of very gaudy colours, so skilfully blended as to produce by their admixture, a mellowing effect, which alleviates the eye, by subduing the oppressive character of the glare and heat. The entrance to one of these magnificent houses is by an archway leading from the main street. Within the centre area of the building is a square or court, open to the top, surrounded by stairs and covered galleries for convenience of approach to the various apartments. This inclosure is decorated with fountains, vases, flowering shrubs, &c. &c. The upper rooms are occupied by the family, and on the ground floor are the warehouses, coach-house, and stabling. The proprietors are by no means exclusive in the selection of building sites, but allow the mansion to stand side by side with the hovel, without regard to appearance. The window openings are un-

* Mr. Crawford, the British minister, states that in 1858, 17,000 slaves were imported into Cuba, 30,000 in 1859, and 40 to 50,000 in 1860, besides Chinamen. The last sugar crop was estimated at 500,000 tons.

glazed, and, by way of protection, are fenced with an open lattice-work of iron rods, presenting to the stranger a very prison-like look. The inmates appear to have no dread of being under observation; the females are for the most part unemployed, or engaged only in swinging to and fro in rocking chairs, placed in double lines facing each other, for convenience of conversation.

The principal residents are the wealthy planters,—the territorial princes of the island,—chiefly of Spanish origin, who usually spend their winter months in the enjoyment of a round of gaiety in this metropolis of the island. They have a very large theatre and other places of amusement; the character of the prevailing entertainments is gross rather than costly; and bull-fighting and cock-fighting are those which they mostly prefer to indulge in on Sundays. The ladies and the *elite* of the city enjoy their grandeur of display in equipages and attendants. They have public promenades, one of which, the "Passeo de Isabel," is of considerable length, and is lined on both sides with groves of lofty palms, forming the principal promenade, or the "Hyde Park" of the citizens. It is in the evening only, after the heat has subsided, that the scene is brilliant. The gentlemen are moving about on horseback, and the ladies in open vehicles called "Volantes," in which they usually sit three abreast, the middle one foremost; they are without bonnets, their dresses are of gauze of light fancy colours, with skirts flying in the breeze: the atmosphere is mild and balmy, free from chill, and the setting sun renders the scene most delightfully splendid. At a later hour in the evening, the "Plaza de Armas" is the focus of fashion. It is a large square in

front of the mansion of the Captain-General, tastefully laid down with flowering shrubs surmounted with royal palms, forming a promenade, and very brilliantly illuminated. The bands give out their music, the ladies appear in full dress, the gentlemen crowd about engaging in chit-chat; and altogether, combining to produce a scene of hilarity and mirth so Oriental and fairy-like as almost to bewilder European eyes to look upon.

During the middle of the day, in the month of March the thermometer in the shade was standing at upwards of eighty degrees; therefore most persons avoided being out betwixt the hours of ten and three o'clock. The volante, or the vehicle which is so much in use, is formed like an old-fashioned English gig, having a moveable head inclining backwards. The wheels are about seven feet high; the shafts very long and elastic; and the length of the whole, including the horse, is 24 feet. The volante may be drawn by one or two horses. The hair of their tails is tied in a fanciful manner, and the point fastened to the saddle. The driver, or "caleshero," as he is called, rides on one of the horses; they generally employ a negro, who is mounted in tawdry livery, with his legs deeply cased in jack-boots; and the whole affair is mostly bedizened with expensive silver ornaments.

The cathedral is a fine old building of the Moresco-Spanish style of architecture. It is one of the leading sights of Havana, and is celebrated as the last resting place of the bones of Columbus. The first interment of the discoverer was in his native country, Spain; thence removed to Hayti; afterwards, upon the expulsion of the Spaniards from Hayti, they carried away his remains, and

had them deposited where they now repose. In the wall approaching the altar there is a small tablet which serves to mark the spot; but, taken as a specimen of a monument, the attempt thus to record the memory and the greatness of Columbus is dishonouring even to Spain. The existence of a cathedral, and about thirty other churches in this city, is calculated to lead to the impression that the great purpose of religion is flourishing in the island: on the contrary, such a conclusion would be a great mistake.

There is only one church in the large city of Matanzas, very few in any other part of the country; and none but the Roman Catholic form of worship is permitted. The congregational attendance at the churches was very slender, excepting only when there was "military mass;" the service was not impressive, and those in attendance were mostly priests, soldiers, and women. The concerns of the state religion are allowed to repose under the presiding authority of a bishop. Our interest in the affairs of this personage was not a little increased by finding that the bishop's house was a roofless ruin. The reason assigned for this dilapidated state of the premises, was the reduction of the salary, on the present appointment, from 100,000 dollars a-year, to 15,000. It came out in explanation of this serious reduction, that the present holder of the bishopric had lent himself, contrary to law, to accomplish the marriage of Christina, the Queen of Spain, to Munos, who was a commoner. His reward was this bishopric, and his penalty for the offence was this reduction of his stipend. We felt curious to ascertain how he had sustained this bereavement,—whether it had been with

characteristic humility, and as affording an example of self-denying meekness. We were told that, on the contrary, he had not made up his mind to his loss, but that he had already recovered nearly the former amount of salary enjoyed, and had derived the money from sources of gain which had been undiscovered by his predecessors, such, for instance, as the sales of permissions for open dealing in shops, and for the coaling of steamers, on Sundays; together with some other moral delinquencies of considerable pecuniary value. The roofless condition of the residence of the former bishops, affords an instance of the rapidity with which the natural fertility of the country can obliterate any tracings of the previous existence of cultivation and taste. The seeds of large plants had been deposited by the wind upon the battlements on the house-top; and in a few years these had sent out their roots downwards through the walls in every direction, and split them asunder. The roof had dropped in, and the presence of these bulky trees, now luxuriating on the walls, will one day, when shaken by a gale of wind, probably bring the whole fabric to the ground. The terraces of the flower garden were just visible amongst the growth of weeds, and the spontaneous creation of the soil had raised the largest bamboo canes we had ever seen. Indeed, it might truly be said that this was the place "where once a garden smiled," but now "where many a garden flower grows wild."

Havana is the great port and emporium of commerce of the island. On both sides of the harbour there are large warehouses for the storage of sugar received from the plantations, one of which will contain 400,000 boxes.

In such a city there are a considerable number of European merchants, with whose families we had great pleasure in becoming acquainted. In their evening "receptions," the doors and windows of their houses were opened to their gardens and pleasure grounds, affording to the guests an animating entertainment; the scene itself, the moon and the stars arrayed in all the tropical glory, and the Southern Cross (a constellation which is never seen away from the tropics), rendered the enjoyment altogether very delightful. Their amusements were varied, but the favourite and most successful were the "tableaux vivants," admirably performed. The fish market of Havana is a remarkable sight. Upon the marble benches there is a display of the oddest-looking fish imaginable. We saw many hundreds, and were told that sometimes as many as 1,200 specimens might be found exhibited for sale. They were of every form, and the colours intermingled with shades, stripes, and spots, exceedingly brilliant and interesting to look upon. Some of the fish we found delicate as food, but most of them were of a soft, inferior kind, and much less solid than the salmon or the sole fish, which frequent the colder waters of the north.

The most valuable of the contributions of nature to the inhabitants of Cuba, are the presence of a perpetual summer, and a climate quite as productive as it is enchanting. In the month of March we found our tables regularly served with all the varieties of early vegetables, and with delicious fruits in great abundance. Of little avail was our knowledge of horticulture, in a country where every production of nature was so strange to our experience. Every bush, and every tree, appeared to have little or no

resemblance to any thing we had previously seen; and in almost every ditch, flowers were blooming, such as in these northern parts require the heat and shelter of the conservatory. We could not omit to notice such a sight; and by the politeness of our friends we procured the names and description of the most conspicuous and most interesting of the shrubs and plants of the island.

The banana rises to the height of 20 feet; it is met with everywhere; and as a fruit-bearing tree it exceeds all others in the amount of food which it produces. According to an estimate formed by Humboldt, one thousand square feet of ground, which will yield only 38lbs. of wheat, or 462lbs. of potatoes, will yield 4,000lbs. of the larger bananas. This fruit, so cheaply and plentifully produced, is found at every table in Cuba, as regularly as potatoes are seen in this country. It is enjoyed with equal delight at the tables of the rich, as well as the poor; it may be prepared by boiling, roasting, or frying, and is taken along with animal food or with fish; it is used instead of pastry; it is stored as dry fruit; and a fermented liquor is also derived from the juice of it. The plant is perennial,—the stalk dying off when the fruit-bearing is over.

The palm tree, in about thirty varieties, abounds over the country. The royal and the cocoa nut palms are the finest trees, often rising to the height of 60 or 80 feet, and sometimes to as high as 100 feet or upwards. The stately attitude of these trees affords a constant delight to look upon; indeed they are described by Linnæus as "the princes of the vegetable world, surpassing all others in the grandeur and majesty of their port."

The caoutchouc, or Indiarubber tree, grows to a considerable height, and possesses an ornamental look. The olive is in great variety. The guava plant is much cultivated, and affords a finely-flavoured jelly. The citron, the mango tree, which so much resembles our horse chesnut, is trained into groves and shades, which afford shelter from the scorching sun. The bamboo, the pittis-frorum of 18 feet in height, the frondosa Africana, the araucaria Braziliensis, of 20 feet high, the copaiba tree, the mahogany tree, which is very common, the pimento, the night-blooming cereus, grown as a covering for arbours, the aloe and the cactus, grown as garden fences, the mango fruit, the kiameta, the sapota, the cupidoa, an hybiscus with red blossoms, very showy, the mammea, sugar apple, the gourd or calabash tree, the verbena, six feet high, the log-wood tree, the citron, trained to cover arbours, the cedar, used for cigar boxes, and the ceiba tree, which often rises to the height of 50 or 60 feet before throwing off a single branch. We frequently noticed that this large tree became a prey to the destructive power of an air-plant called the "jaquey." The seed of the jaquey, carried by the wind, and lodged in the branches of one of these trees, strikes root into the bark, and throws out a delicate network of roots, which, as they gradually expand, encircle the tree, and descend down the trunk until at length they take root in the soil at the bottom. The increase of sustenance thus obtained, enables these straggled roots to become incorporated one into another, until at length they embrace the whole tree, and destroy the trunk. In this manner the deadly jaquey has been known to expand its feelers to other adjoining trees, incorporating into one mass as many

as six trees standing near together. It has been remarked that ingratitude does not usually apply to the proceedings of plants, but in this instance the jaquey repays with destruction and death its first and greatest benefactor. Don Francisco Sauvalle, an eminent planter, has succeeded in describing and taking drawings of 700 of the trees of Cuba, exclusive of shrubs; and he sees no immediate prospect of the termination of his labours.

The attention of the cultivator is almost wholly absorbed by the sugar cane, the coffee, and tobacco plants. The cultivation of the sugar cane is by drill husbandry; the plant is perennial, the shoots rise to the height of ten or twelve feet, and after cutting, another crop ascends from the roots year by year for twenty years in succession. There is no other plant which possesses the same luxuriance of character, yielding as it does annually as much as 4,000lbs. of sugar to the acre. The crop becomes matured about the end of October; the period of cutting and harvesting extends over six months, from November to May. During this period the labour of the plantation and the sugar manufacture is very toilsome indeed. The canes are crushed by the sugar mill, formed of three massive rollers revolving one upon another. The canes when exhausted are dried for fuel, the syrup is boiled and placed in small conical vessels covered with clay, having an opening at the taper end for the escape of molasses. By a recent invention, combining an ingenious application of mechanism and chemistry, this antiquated process has now to some extent been superseded. It not only effects a great saving of manual labour, but more completely separates the sugar from the molasses; and again by a

subsequent process, converts the molasses into sugar, leaving only a worthless residium. The utensils consist of large cauldrons made of copper, inside of each of which a circular agitator is made to revolve at the speed of 1,000 times per minute. The engineering was mostly from this country, and the copper utensils from France. In one of the establishments which we visited, the premises and plant used for this manufacture, were said to have cost the proprietors upwards of £40,000.

The coffee plant resembles the myrtle, and looks like a hardy evergreen of five or six feet high; the blossoms are white, the berries ripen in September; and it is not until the third or fourth year that it produces fruit to any profitable extent. A single tree yields from half-a-pound to one pound of berries, and an acre about 600lbs. as an average crop. The coffee plant luxuriates in the shade; and the banana is usually planted on the same grounds, for the purpose of shelter. The labour required is lighter, and the plantations look more ornamental, than those of sugar.

Tobacco, next to sugar, is the most important source of wealth to the island. The planting is performed in the winter months; and when we saw the plants, they were only just above the ground. The manufacture of the Havana cigars is a large trade, and is mostly carried on in the cities. Indian corn is extensively raised, and consumed as fodder for cattle; and the same land raises two crops in a year. The pine apple is a field crop, cultivated as turnips are in this country; and we saw this fragrant and delicious fruit regularly brought to market by strings of horses, with loaded panniers.

CUBAN SLAVERY.

We have purposely reserved the labour question to the last. It is an awful subject to approach, involving perhaps the blackest history of crime and cruelty ever inflicted by one portion of the human race upon another. The slaves of Cuba have not been born in the country, as those of South Carolina and Georgia have, but have been hunted down in Africa, and brought to Cuba for sale. They are therefore not familiar with field labour, or the use of implements of husbandry; and it was often very painful to see these poor creatures toiling in gangs, handling their tools awkwardly, exposed to the severity of a driver who was standing over them armed with a whip, a sword, and perhaps a revolver. The annual mortality amongst the slaves is excessive, and as the planters do not import females, nor raise families of negroes upon their estates, as in America, the deficiency of labourers is filled up by increased importations. The "working out" of the slave, as it is familiarly termed, is caused principally by the labour of the night. After the slaves have worked twelve hours in cane cutting, the labour of four hours in the night at the sugar mill is superadded, and these additional four hours of exhaustion cause the vigour of the negroes to become wasted, and they die off. By the mechanism now adopted in the sugar manufacture, this system of night-working may be diminished, if not entirely superseded; and we heard discussions of the question deliberately entertained, whether the economy of manufacture lay on the side of investing capital in machinery, or in the exhausting of men.

The first sugar plantation we visited was the very worst specimen of the Cuban system we ever met with. We were conveyed to this plantation by mistake, and found the slaves were returning to the homestead with bundles of canes on their shoulders; and as they moved along, having their clothes hanging loosely upon their backs, they sometimes, inadvertently, disclosed the marks of the whip. Many of them betrayed the unsubdued look of recent captives from Africa, and as they happened to come upon us unawares, some of them appeared startled with alarm, or abhorrence, at the unexpected presence of white people.

During the time that we were the guests of some of the large planters, we observed that they did not betray the same sort of nervousness that the American planters appeared to feel regarding the moral aspect of the question of slavery; on the contrary, they seemed to take it for granted that the institution of slavery was recognised, along with commerce, as a pursuit which was equally indispensable in common life, and alike commendable in its character. Many of them were gentlemen in their demeanour, and were possessed of the estimable qualities which are usually found in social life amongst intelligent and well-bred persons. Their slaves were well attended to, and there was nothing observable of the repulsive character we had met with in the first premises we had seen on the island. Not a few of the slaves were represented as being possessed of money savings, and wore an outward show of comfort; but it must, however, be borne in mind, that there doubtless must be many others who at times feel deeply the smart of separation from the

endearments of their childhood, and their native homes. Possibly it might be on this account, but, from some cause or other, it was evidently considered necessary even for those who might be supposed to stand well with their slaves, not to allow themselves or their principal servants to go about unprovided with weapons. They usually had about the premises a number of bloodhounds for the recovery of the runaway slaves, and some of the dogs were greatly extolled for the sagacity they had manifested in the chase, especially in their pursuit across rivers.

By a provision of the Spanish law, a slave may purchase his freedom, and have the price determined by magisterial authority. Many of them do buy their own freedom; whilst there were others who possessed as much money as would buy out their freedom, who still remained on the plantations, after having negotiated for some partial exemption from labour. We heard of some of those who had become free, who had done well in small trades; whilst others had fallen into dissolute habits.

CHINESE LABOURERS.

Since the year 1847, there have been imported into Cuba 13,576 men, and 7 women; and the introduction of this class of labour is on the increase. Upon their arrival they are disposed of to the planters at 300 dollars each, for a servitude of eight years, upon wages of four dollars per month, besides clothing and food. They are said to perform their work very creditably; they do not possess the physical strength of the negroes, but they excel the negroes in all employments requiring the exercise of skill. Some of the planters treated the China-

men as they would treat the negro race, with severity; but they soon found that this would not answer. Others, who followed a more judicious and confiding treatment, succeeded much better. One gentleman, speaking of the capabilities of the Chinamen in comparison with the negroes, stated that if he were to give them instructions to dig a trench of 100 yards long, two feet wide, and four feet deep, they would make it straight and perfect; whilst the negroes, having the same instructions, would make a very crooked trench, and would disregard their measures altogether. The first importation of the Chinese have now served their eight years, and are released; but they have preferred to take employment as porters, or in some other way, and have not demanded that they should be returned to China, as they might have done, but have remained on the island as free labourers.

GENERAL REMARKS.

It is supposed that not one-fourth of the island has been brought under cultivation, in consequence of the scarcity of labour. Cuba is probably enjoying a larger extent of prosperity than any country in the world. We were informed that there were hundreds of planters who were making a profit of £10,000 a-year each, and that in other cases the profits were much larger, some of them exceeding £100,000. With a measure of prosperity like this, it appears vain to expect that the African slave trade can be extinguished by our upholding a large expenditure in the employment of cruisers on the West Coast of Africa, and around the coast of Cuba. A slaving adventure is easily got up. Those of every class in Havana, ladies as well

as gentlemen, become subscribers according to their means; and they often realise 300 per cent. profit, and affect no sort of concealment in regard to their success. The British Government have tried, by various means, to put down this traffic, and have entered into a treaty with Spain for the sum of £400,000 to establish a "mixed commission," sitting in Havana, and having the officials nominated jointly by Great Britain and Spain, for the apprehension and trial of offenders.

According to a recent report of this commission, addressed to Lord Clarendon, "The slave trade continues to be carried on not only extensively, but with impunity." The country is infested with robbers and brigands; and, not knowing of this, we were sometimes surprised to find that our friends would insist upon having us accompanied by an armed escort. We had never conceived the idea of danger, and merely imagined that this attendance was some sort of idle display on the part of these wealthy Spaniards. Afterwards we ascertained that on one of the roads we had travelled, there had been a robbery during the previous week of a lady and gentleman, who had been deprived of their money, their luggage, and part of their clothing.

MATANZAS.

The city which stands next in importance to Havana is Matanzas, about seventy miles distant. The interest of our visit was not the city alone, but the attractions of the renowned scenery of the "Combre" and the "Yumuri," which lie adjacent to the city. We were conveyed to the hill of the Combre in the volante of one of our

friends, and in passing we saw many picturesque nooks of choicest landscape, some of which were adorned with the mansions and pleasure grounds of the wealthy citizens.

On reaching the summit, the city lay on one side, and the glittering surface of the bay on the other; whilst apparently below our feet there was the celebrated valley of the "Yumuri," having a flattened plateau of oblong form, under sugar culture, and so encircled by the hills of the "Combre" as to convey the idea of an earthen basin surrounded with fluted grooves. Some considerable portions of the slopes of these hills are covered with impenetrable jungles of lofty trees, with myriads of closely-twining plants intermingling with each other, displaying a grotesque admixture of foliage and flowers, so closely interlaced as to be utterly impossible even for a wild beast to penetrate. On our way through this valley, the charm of the scene was not a little enlivened by the prismatic effect of a tropical sunset, and when the evening became darkened, by the presence of the fire-fly and the glow-worm. Passing through a narrow gorge in the hills, we came to a wild romantic chasm, which has been rendered memorable by a legendary story. When the Spaniards got possession of the island, and had hunted down the aboriginal people, the last remnant of the race was massacred near this place: hence the name of "Matanzas," which means "butchery." The chieftain, indignant at the brutality of the Spaniards, ascended this rock and plunged into the river below, exclaiming, with his last breath, "Yo maori" (I die). The melancholy interest of this event has supplied to the valley and the river names which they will retain for ever.

GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY.

It is attributed to the governing authorities, that they are corrupt from the head downwards, and that they share the spoil with the slavers. The Governor, or Captain-General, as he is called, is invested with the power of a despot; he appears to exercise it with severity, and with a very strong hand. He may expel any one from the island; and a meeting of three persons he may consider an unlawful assemby. A gentleman of wealth and station informed us of the manner in which he had been made to writhe under the powers of the government, for the offence of having, with ninety others, signed a memorial for the gradual extinction of slavery!

A few years since, a memorable instance occurred in the case of Signor Ramon Pinto, a merchant, a man of talent, aged, having a large family, whose residence adjoined the governor's garden, and who became an object of political suspicion. His garden was dug up by order of the governor, and his premises were subjected to a searching examination, but nothing was found that could be deemed criminal, and it was believed by all well-informed persons that there never was any credible evidence raised against him. Notwithstanding this, he was apprehended, and publicly garotted—or rather assassinated—in the name of political justice.

It would be desponding, indeed, if we could yield to the supposition that one of the finest regions of the earth was destined to remain for ever the abode of despotism, and that the resources of its wealth were to continue to be wrung by oppression from the negro race. The day of retribution will assuredly come, though its dawn may for

the present be obscured in thick darkness. The means by which the social and political changes which are necessary to be accomplished shall be brought about, are hid from our immediate vision; but it will be admitted that those changes which the patriot and the philanthropist would desire, ought to come of the progressive intelligence of the Cubans themselves. Unhappily, the tropics, although fertile in all the productions of the earth, are not largely creative of *mind;* and the lethargy which climate appears to induce, is unfavourable to the development of that resistless action amongst the people which would terminate in the triumph of the sacred cause of liberty.

In thirty years there have been raised, on Cuban soil, at least three men who have left on record indubitable evidence that they knew and felt the degraded condition of their country and their countrymen: these men also possessed the dignity of mind, and the heroism of character, which induced them boldly to declare it. They were Heredia, Milanes, and Placido. Painful, however, has been the record of their history. The result of their efforts has been exile or martyrdom. Heredia was a man of birth and position, whose patriotism forced him into exile. Milanes was of humble life: his inability to struggle with the wrongs he saw and felt, at length overpowered his reason. The third was Placido, a combmaker, a man of scanty education, who no sooner made himself conspicious than he fell a victim, and was publicly shot. Honour to Cuba, that such men should have lived!

Of Heredia, the quality of his character will be appreciated in the following plaintive extract from one of his poems.

THE EXILE'S HYMN.

Fair land of Cuba! on thy shores are seen
Life's fair extremes of noble and of mean;—
The world of sense in matchless beauty dressed,
And nameless horrors hid within thy breast:
Ordained of Heaven the fairest flower of earth,
False to thy gifts, and reckless of thy birth!
The tyrant's clamour, and the slave's sad cry,
With the sharp lash in insolent reply,—
Such are the sounds that echo on thy plains,
While virtue faints, and vice unblushing reigns.
Rise, and to power a daring heart oppose!
Confront with death those worse than death-like woes.
Unfailing valour chains the flying fate;
Who dares to die shall win the conqueror's state!

* * * *

Fearest thou blood? O, better in the strife,
From patriot wounds to pour the gushing life,
Than let it creep inglorious through the veins,
Benumbed by sin, and agony, and chains!
Thy blood, thy treasure, poured like tropic rain,
By tyrant hands to feed the soil of Spain.
What hast thou Cuban? Life itself resign,—
The very grave is insecurely thine!

* * * *

Cuba! thou still shalt rise, as pure—as bright,
As thy free air,—as full of living light;
Free as thy waves that foam around thy strands,
Kissing thy shores, and curling o'er thy sands.

Placido was charged with conspiracy; and although he affirmed his innocency of the offence, he was declared to be guilty, and sentenced to be shot. During his imprisonment, and while preparing for death, he composed a beautiful poem, his "Prayer to God," from which the following has been extracted:—

O God of love unbounded! O Lord supreme!
In overwhelming grief to Thee I fly;
Rending this hateful veil of calumny,
O let Thine arm of might my fame redeem!
Wipe Thou this foul disgrace from off my brow,
With which the world hath sought to stamp it now.

Merciful God! how should I Thee deceive?
Let Thy eternal wisdom search my soul,
Bowed down to earth by falsehood's base control;
Her stainless wings not now the air may cleave.
Send forth Thine hosts of truth, and set her free;
Stay Thou, O Lord, the oppressor's victory!

* * * *

But if this lot Thy love ordains to me—
To yield to foes most cruel and unjust,
To die and leave my poor and senseless dust
The scoff and sport of their weak enmity,—
Speak Thou, and then Thy purposes fulfil;
Lord of my life, work out Thy perfect will!

It seems hardly possible to omit one other extract, that of his last farewell to his mother:—

The appointed lot has come upon me, mother,
The mournful ending of my years of strife;
This changing world I leave, and to another,
In blood and terror, goes my spirit's life.
But thou, grief-smitten, cease thy mortal weeping,
And let thy soul her wonted peace regain:
I fall for right,—and thoughts of thee are sweeping
Across my lyre, to wake its dying strain—
A strain of joy and gladness, free, unfailing,
All-glorious and holy, pure, divine,
And innocent, unconscious as the wailing
I uttered at my birth; and I resign,
Even now, my life: even now, descending slowly,
Faith's mantle folds me to my slumbers holy.
Mother, farewell! God keep thee, and for ever!

THIRD LECTURE.

In taking our leave of Cuba, we retained a vivid recollection of the joys and the sorrows which had impressed our feelings with extreme interest, not to say solicitude for the future of that lovely island. It did indeed appear very lamentable, that one of the choicest possessions of the earth, rich in all those products of nature which indicate the most munificent of the gifts of Providence to man, should have been vouchsafed to the enjoyment of a people who are unblest with that happiness so generally attaching to human existence. It would be utterly vain to look for any reform or improvement from within, so long as the upper classes crouch beneath the iron rule of Spain, and allow themselves to dose in the stupor of outward prosperity. The whole fabric of society is sustained by the most barbarous form of slavery, and the conducting of the system of slavery does not appear to have been rendered less harrassing by the ameliorating effects which usually attend upon human progress.

THE GULF OF MEXICO.

For three or four days our ship was tossed about upon those deep waters of the gulf, whence (according to the theory of Lieutenant Maury) the ocean currents of the tropics proceed to the Atlantic and thence to the Northern seas. We enjoyed very beautiful weather, and were

amused with the sportive movements of the flying fish, and other incidents of the voyage. Having entered one of the branches of the Mississippi in a dense fog, our ship got upon a sand bank, and remained there twenty-four hours. This disappointment induced a current of observation by no means uninstructive.

We were surrounded at the bar of the river by no less than seventy or eighty ships, freighted with cotton from New Orleans, and mostly bound for Liverpool. This of itself was an enlivening mercantile sight: the presence of these ships became suggestive of the remarkable fact that it was only seventy years before, that not a single bale of cotton had ever floated on that river, and that now they were coming down by millions of bales in every year.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

The principal region of our cotton supply, is in the fertility of the Mississippi valley, which we are now approaching. You may, perhaps, find that the details of this subject may appear somewhat dry; and we cannot promise that it will afford you any amusement: nevertheless, it is becoming an affair of interest, which you may, one day, study with profit. Let us refer to the map, and try to acquaint ourselves with the marvellous extent, and the unbounded resources of this valley, more particularly with that portion of it—that comparatively small speck of the earth's surface, upon which we are so dependent from year to year for our supply of cotton;—or, in other words, for the material resources of our prosperity.

The extent of this valley may be measured by a direct line from the 29th to the 47th degrees of north latitude,

extending from the Gulf of Mexico on the south, to the borders of the British Canadian provinces on the north; and in its breadth extending from the Alleghany mountains on the east, to the Rocky mountains on the west; embodying an area which has been estimated at ten times the surface of the British Isles. Within the range of this valley may be found every diversity of climate, every variety of soil, and every useful mineral. The principal products are cotton, sugar, tobacco, hemp, flax, silk, Indian corn; every species of grain and grasses, with cattle and live stock in great abundance. Indeed the splendid gifts of nature have been so largely concentrated within this region, that, according to De Toqueville, it is "the most magnificent habitation that God ever designed for man."

The river Mississippi and its innumerable tributaries are equally remarkable in their adaptation to every purpose of utility for such a country. They permeate every vicinity of production, transmit the produce raised upon the soil, they remove surface waters, and furnish navigable highways for the service of the inhabitants. The extent of steam navigation on these rivers has been estimated by Colonel Long, the topographical engineer, as follows:— The Mississippi and branches, 7,097 miles: the Ohio and branches, 3,292 miles; the Missouri and branches, 2,655 miles; the Red River and branches, 3,630 miles: total, 16,764 miles. By other authorities the river navigation has been estimated to comprise a line of as much as 25,000 miles of country, in direct communication with New Orleans. When we investigate the history of this large territory, our knowledge of it appears of very recent

date. How long it may have been since the Gulf of Mexico retired from its surface, or for what lengthened period it may have been occupied as the hunting ground of the Indian tribes, we know not. There is no data to which we can refer, and the only tracings of habitation left by the Indians are the mounds of earth where they buried their dead after battle, and the heaps of oyster shells denoting where they have lived. It is however evident that the valley must have been in existence many thousands of years before it was made to yield any products to the labour of man. It is but little over two centuries since a few Spanish and French priests first floated upon this river, and founded some small settlements upon its banks. This inroad upon them so provoked the Indian tribes, that they made war upon the settlers and checked their progress. It has, therefore, only been within the last three-quarters of a century that the people living east of the Alleghany mountains have seen this wondrous land. Following their discovery and possession of the country, its solid character as a colony has become established upon a durable footing, by the onward tide of emigration of the Anglo-Saxon race, numbering at the present time, including slaves, a population of nearly twelve millions; and judging from its present appearance its progress may become twelve times twelve millions, before the fertility and wealth of the country shall have been explored and husbanded in their fullest extent.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

This river emerges from Lake Itasca, which is situate in the most northerly point of the United States. In its

way towards the Gulf of Mexico, it takes a winding course of about 3,600 miles, and its volume as it moves along becomes immensely increased by a great many large rivers and tributary streams flowing into it, all of which it swallows up one after another, without in any degree increasing its breadth, but by the deepening of its channel, —a peculiarity which is of the greatest importance to the navigation in seasons of drought. In February, the floods begin to rise, and the river continues high till the month of June.

This increase of height amounts to nearly 60 feet at the junction of the Ohio; lower down, at Natchez, it is about 40 feet; and at New Orleans not more than 10 or 12 feet. The depth of the middle of the river varies from 100 to 250 feet, and at the sides it is usually about 40 feet. In its approach to the sea, the bed of the river gradually becomes raised, from its extreme depth, in order to effect the discharge of the waters; and as it becomes more shallow, the width is expanded, and forms a number of branches, the deepest of which is about 20 feet, or only just of navigable depth. The water is loaded with yellow mud, and its appearance is very unattractive to the eye, though not unpleasant to the taste; it is regularly served at table, and is used for all culinary purposes without filtration. This admixture of earthy matter must be very considerable, inasmuch as, when out at sea, we had observed that the waters of the Gulf were discoloured by the river long before we came within sight of the land.

There is a vastness and grandeur which we could not fail to notice in the aspect of this river; the current is rapid, being from three to four and a-half miles an hour;

the surface looks troubled, and is constantly agitated by some commotion below, by which the water forms a succession of large boils or swells, heaving up to the surface, rolling about, rendering the navigation of the stream very dangerous; and in the case of any one falling overboard, the body disappears at once, is sucked down, as it were, and the recovery of it is next to impossible.

STEAMERS.

The steamers are very numerous; probably there may be as many as 2,000 of them on the river; a few are of great magnitude, and their appearance is very unlike any other steamers afloat. The sides overhang that portion which enters the water as a boat; and in their construction they resemble a block of houses of two or three storeys in height. The lower part is used for the storage of cotton bales and other merchandise, and the upper deck forms the saloon for passengers. The usual speed of travelling is from ten to twelve miles an hour against the stream. Two of these boats were pointed out as having conveyed from 5,200 to 5,600 bales of cotton in each, besides their passengers; and another steamer, *The Eclipse*, was described as being of 365 feet in length, and 40 feet in breadth. The length of her saloon was 300 feet; she could accommodate 200 passengers besides her crew, and carry 6,000 bales of cotton, or 1,800 tons. In all these boats the saloon is handsomely furnished. The ladies occupy a portion at one end separated from the rest by folding doors; along both sides and throughout the whole length are sleeping apartments, each one communicating inside with the saloon, and outside with a covered gallery which

surrounds the boat. The boat is surmounted by an ornamented cupola, which serves as a cabin for the pilot, and affords him a wide range of observation on the river. From this elevation he has command of wires and bells which communicate with the engineers and other officers who have charge of the moving power and of the steering. Along the banks there are immense piles of firewood laid down, in measures which they call "cords," in readiness for sale; and as the steamers consume large quantities of it, they have frequently to stop for "wooding," as it is termed. The steam boilers are placed under a publicly-authorised supervision; certificates are granted stating what is the amount of steam-pressure allowed, and the certificates so obtained are hung up within the observation of the passengers. In one of the boats we observed that the pressure allowed was 130lbs. to the square inch, and by way of preventing any excess, they had a steam gauge composed of an amalgam of metals, which becomes fused at a point of heat a little beyond that of the pressure allowed. Notwithstanding these precautions, numerous accidents occur every year from boiler explosions, from the vessels getting on fire, and frequently from their becoming disabled by collision against trunks of trees, or "snags," as they are called, which lie imbedded in the river. One peculiarity of this navigation, is the large number of rafts which are being floated down from the upper country, often from a distance of 2,000 miles: they are loaded with farm produce and other articles; are of rude construction,—a mere framework of balks and planks of timber, and are guided down the stream by the plying of long oars. Some of these

rafts were said to convey freights of the value of £2,000; and when discharged, they are not taken up the river, but are sold for whatever they may fetch as the value of timber, and if buyers are not found, the owners allow them to float down to the sea as worthless material.

Of the passengers we can say but little that would be acceptable to dwell upon. There were always to be found a number of well-to-do people, who were very companionable; there were also a considerable number, even of those of rough exterior, who possessed a great deal of intelligence, and who were extremely desirous, not to say determined, to become acquainted with the other passengers around them, especially with those who were foreigners. But, in reference to another class of travellers, they might, without any great stretch of imagination, represent those of whom it might be said that they "neither fear God nor regard man."

NEW ORLEANS.

The city of New Orleans is situated upon a circular bend of the river. From this circumstance it has acquired the name of the "Crescent City." It is the metropolis of the south-western states, and derives its importance from the commanding position it holds for conducting a large amount of inland as well as export trade. It is placed very advantageously for communicating with a vast extent of country of inexhaustible fertility. The great mass of the products raised within the Mississippi territory find their way hither, for sale and distribution to all parts of the world. The great store-room they have provided for merchandise, is the Quay, or "Levee," which adjoins the

city, and extends about five miles along the river. During the business season, which is from November to June, there are not unfrequently from 1,000 to 1,500 steam boats, flat boats, and foreign ships, constantly arriving, departing, or lying moored against this place; and morning by morning this "Levee" was the most bustling scene imaginable. It was usually covered with cotton, piled up in lots, to the height of fifteen or sixteen bales, ranged like streets of houses; also with corn, sugar, pork, provisions, and various other articles, in prodigious quantities. Day by day, thousands of carts and drays were loading and unloading. Before night, nearly the whole of that merchandise seen in the morning would have disappeared, and the space would again become occupied with a succession of other supplies. In the winter months, the merchants and agents from abroad arrive here; and at the same time the planters of the interior come down to dispose of their produce. During these few months, business is stimulated and conducted with unexampled vigour. The magnitude of the sale transactions, and the pecuniary value of the bills drawn in liquidation, almost exceed belief. The affairs of commerce bring together a large number of active and enterprising people, and afford the opportunity for pleasure-taking also. Indeed it is remarked by strangers that the season of gaiety in New Orleans is seldom exceeded in any other place.

There is an unfortunate peculiarity, though perhaps an unavoidable one, in the site chosen for the city. It is lying at the depth of six or eight feet below the surface of the river, and the peril to the inhabitants by inundation

is provided against by an embankment of earthwork, raised to form the "Levee." The ground upon which the city is built is an alluvial deposit, rendered solid for building purposes by a foundation of piles driven into the ground. Their only means of drainage is an outlet at Lake Pontchartrain, six miles distant; and as the surface is nearly on a level, there is great difficulty in providing any adequate means of sewerage. They have not any covered sewers, but wide open drains are formed alongside the parapets of every street. These are of a capacity to receive not only the deposits of filth which accumulate in the streets, but the household refuse of the inhabitants. Such a mass of fetid matter, covered as it is with stagnant water, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun, gives out offensive smells, poisoning the atmosphere, and creating epidemics and fevers, which carry off the inhabitants by thousands. It may be remarked that, in striking contrast, almost in mockery of such abominations, may be seen the most magnificent display of fragrant roses, orange trees, creeping plants, shrubs, and flowers, carefully cultivated around the people's dwellings. Openings which are made in the ground, immediately become filled with water; and on this account the burials in the cemeteries are not in graves dug in the earth, but in tombs erected above ground, formed of brickwork, well-cemented; and in some cases two or three niches, or "ovens" as they are termed, are placed one above another. The insalubrity of the summer months is notorious. The foreign merchants quit the place in June, and out of a population of 150,000 in winter, it is said that not less than 50,000 are absent during the summer.

In the year 1785, which was before any cotton had been shipped, the population had only reached 4,780.

The city itself appears to have been constructed as a makeshift, erected for the convenience of parties meeting there to conduct the operations of bargain and sale; the floors of many of the houses are three or four steps above the roadway, to prevent the inflowing of the water when the rain has rendered the approach more easy for boats than for wheel carriages. Society as it is existing there is composed of a most heterogeneous mixture of people of all races and countries. The native inhabitants are called "Creoles;" they assume a dignified exclusion towards others, and are said to be remarkably cautious in their intercourse with strangers. There are upwards of twenty newspaper publications, twelve of which are daily; and several of them are in the French and the German languages. Judging of the ordinary aspect of the city, and the generality of the people we saw in the streets, it became impossible to form any other than a very low estimate of the state of common life. They are a strange mass of people, and we could not hear of any indication that mental or moral improvement was to be attempted, or would be rapid if it began. Some years ago, an association of young men tried to establish a library, and they succeeded in the organisation of one consisting of 4,000 to 5,000 volumes, but it lingered only for a time, and finally the effects were sold out by the sheriff. Thefts were of common occurrence: one of our friends had his boots stolen from outside the door of his bedroom; and such is the necessity for watchfulness, that printed notices were posted in the bedrooms, advising the guests of the

hotels to "bolt the door to prevent loss." Fires were so frequent that we thought it not unusual to hear the alarm of the fire-bell twice or thrice of a night. Indeed, in every part of the United States we were surprised by the great number of destructive fires which were constantly occurring. The people are extremely careless in this respect, and when lighting the gas they would throw the burning lighter on the floor, regardless of consequences.

The drinking saloons were large and numerous, and gentlemen, or persons of a superior class, might be observed in these places at all hours of the day, remaining there for conversation, and for the enjoyment of the various iced compounds familiarly termed "cock tails, mint juleps, sherry coblers," &c. &c., all of them of a stimulating character. Gaming-houses, and the class of persons who are the usual frequenters of them, were spoken of as numerous, and as deserving of the usual characteristics of reproach. We were surprised to notice in the windows of shops, and upon stalls in the streets, the great number and variety of deadly weapons exhibiting for sale, such as poignards, cutlasses, bowie knives, revolvers, &c. We remarked upon the strangeness of this sight, and in the first instance were told that these were mostly bought by the boat people to go up the country; but afterwards, a very different explanation was given of the affair by a gentleman who had long been a resident there. His answer to our inquiry was far more significant: pointing to the large crowd of people then moving about in one of the principal streets, he expressed his belief that seven out of every ten of the male persons then before us were carrying weapons of one kind or another.

NEGRO SALES

Every morning we saw in the newspapers announcements of recent arrivals of "field hands," as they are termed, and the planters were invited to make their selections and purchases at the various stores where they were kept for sale. We did not visit any of these bazaars, but were informed that as many as 200 slaves were to be found in many of those of the city, and that upon the visit of a purchaser, the negroes would enter into a display of their physical appearance, and description of their capabilities, with as much apparent earnestness to command a high price, as though they were about to share the purchase money of their own value as chattels. We attended one auction of negroes in the rotunda of a large hotel. They were regularly called upon, and were submitted to the bidders for examination in regard to physical blemishes. Amongst them were to be seen old and young, male and female, and each of them in succession stood forward and heard themselves described in relation to their capability for the various employments they were fitted to pursue, as well as in relation to their individual character. We were surprised to observe that they did not appear dismayed, but on the contrary, tried to show off to the best advantage, and to enjoy a spirited bidding. The spectacle was a very humiliating one, but it was evident we were the only persons present who thought it was so. The auctioneer was very guarded in his expressions, often referring to his notes; and no doubt he felt the importance of his guarantee in reference to personal blemishes, as well as to the possession of skill, ability, and character;

but in those cases in which his instructions were unlimited, his encomiums were so unbounded, that one might have felt proud to have heard him speaking of one's own sons. The prices ranged variously from 800 to 1,500 dollars, or from £160 to £300 sterling.

A large business is carried on in the pressing of cotton bales. The bales are usually brought down the river in a loose state, and on their arrival at New Orleans are subjected to a severe pressure to reduce the bulk, and thus diminish the cost of freight in shipping. At one of these establishments which we visited, they were pressing as many as 1,500 bales per day by three presses, employing fourteen negroes to work each press. We also paid a visit to a manufactory of oil made from cotton seeds. The seeds are laid down at ten dollars per ton. The shell is rubbed off by a pair of millstones. The kernel is ground into pulp, and is subjected to hydraulic pressure, and the oil thus expressed is afterwards clarified, and sold at one dollar per gallon. The residuum is formed into cakes which are disposed of as food for the fattening of cattle. In a climate which is so very warm, it is found that mules sustain the heat better than horses, and therefore they are preferred, especially for draught purposes. There are many thousands of mules employed; most of them are fifteen hands or upwards in height; they move along very rapidly, and draw immense loads. They are raised in the Northern states, chiefly in Kentucky, are brought down in great numbers, and are sold for as much as £50, sometimes even as high as £70 each.

RIVER TRAVELLING, AND THE COUNTRY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

When we entered upon boat life on the Mississippi, that "Father of Waters," the adventure was one of no common interest; nor was it, as we conceived, unmixed with hazard from the dangers to which we have referred. Having before described the construction of the steamers, we may proceed to the incidents of our travel, the appearance of the country, and the ever-changing variety of our fellow passengers. The first 200 miles was through a fertile and well-cultivated portion of the state of Louisiana. The country was principally laid down in sugar plantations, along with rice and tobacco. Here and there we passed the villa or mansion of the proprietor, looking elegant and clean, surrounded with orange trees, evergreens, &c.; and not far distant would be the residences of the overseers, and the little village of wood cabins for the slaves. Embankments or "levees" are formed along the sides of the Mississippi; they are about six feet in height, and mostly about one hundred yards distant from the river.

Louisiana is the great sugar-growing state of the union. It is situated about 700 miles north of Cuba. Its climate is colder, and the crop is more liable to be affected by damaging frosts. The sugar cane requires to be planted every other year, and when matured for cutting, the period for securing the harvest is short—being only from forty to sixty days; whilst in Cuba it extends over six months. Hence the sugar planter of Louisiana is placed under serious disadvantages as compared with Cuba, and would probably not make the attempt to grow

sugar, if he had not a protecting duty of thirty per cent. in his favour.

The objects of passing interest were few; we observed that the State House of Louisiana, at Baton Rouge, was an important-looking edifice. The surface of the country was flat, and being mostly a densely-wooded forest, there was little variety in the scenery: now and then we came to a "wooding station," or to a piece of ground which had been cleared as a cotton plantation, or we were stopping at a local post-office, denoted by a wooden box being nailed to the stump of a tree. On reaching Vicksburgh, we were amused to find that our boat had been moored alongside a floating theatre. The performance was just commencing, and we could hear some portions of the entertainment. It appears that the stage has become one of the regular appurtenances of the river, undertaken by a company of performers who purchase a cast-off boat, have the saloon commodiously seated, and with moveable scenery got up in due order for theatrical performances. Thus the boat and the company of performers move about from place to place upon the river, and its various tributaries, for the amusement of the inhabitants of all the adjoining districts.

We also found that commercial traders in like manner formed themselves into companies, fitted up their floating warehouses, and had them moved about upon the river, visiting the different localities, for the sale of such articles of merchandise as the people of the country might be likely to require. The theatricals and the "merchants" make public announcement beforehand of their approach to any station, and their emissaries advertise in the in-

terior of the country the various attractions they are offering, whether in pleasure-taking, or in the more substantial character of farming-tools, clothing, or the various requirements of the household. The place of our destination, as visitors, was near Lake Washington, about 500 miles up the river; and upon our arrival we found ourselves welcomed by some of the oldest and most eminent of the cotton planters. It was very cheering to us, as strangers, to be received by them with such congratulations upon our visit. They deemed it a very noticeable event: as we were the first of the British manufacturing class whom they had ever known to visit the cotton grounds of the Mississippi. Before entering upon any investigation of the subject of cotton planting, let us again contemplate the world-wide importance of this region of cotton culture of the United States, hitherto so little seen of European eyes.

No one who is acquainted with the manufactures and commerce of our own country, will hesitate to make the acknowledgment that the plot of ground we then trod has become indispensable in its productions to all the civilised world. Upon these plantations, 600,000 negro slaves have made the people of all nations become tributaries to their power, and almost wholly reliant upon their annual success in the growth of a cotton crop. Upon this handful of coloured people, our manufacturers mainly depend for a vegetable product which employs the hands, fills the mouths, and clothes the bodies of millions of the human race, who might otherwise go half naked, or half fed. If we refer to the domain of commerce, the extreme importance of cotton and of the cotton manufacture in all its

branches cannot be overlooked, or scarcely over-estimated. Free-trade has unfettered the energies of the people; and, from day to day, increasing numbers are becoming more and more identified with cotton as an article of commerce. The refinements of wealth, no less than the wants of common life, are daily multiplying our necessities for this raw material: hence there is not another article, excepting that of food, which is of greater interest to all classes than the annual supplies of the cotton crop. In this country the rate of our manufacturing consumption has outstepped its production, and we have become nervously sensitive upon the raising of any alarm on the state of the weather, the presence of a worm, an insect, an early frost, or any sort of accident which may occur to the growing crop; well knowing that a scarcity of cotton in this country is most intimately connected with starvation, and, perhaps, revolt. Never before in the history of the world has so large and perilous a dependence been found to rest upon so small a portion of the human race, or upon a people so lightly esteemed as the negroes usually are. The responsibility of conducting the affairs of these important hands, and all the other operations relating to cotton culture, must necessarily rest upon a very small number of employers. Indeed, they hold possession of a control of incalculable import to the welfare of the rest of the world; and perhaps there could not be found another class of men who have higher duties to perform than those which are involved in the exercise of this authority. Although the planter has the entire mastery over his own affairs, he is so circumstanced that from policy, no less than from duty, he is daily and hourly called upon to

exercise the virtues of forbearance, mercy, generosity, and justice. Perhaps he may consider it in the light of a misfortune that he has to encounter the obloquy which attaches to his pursuit as a slaveowner, to receive the reproaches of the philanthropist, and become the butt of the political rancour which prevails in the exciting struggle betwixt the parties of the North and the South.

COTTON LANDS AND CULTURE.

It is a remarkable occurrence,—perhaps an event in the ordering of Providence,—that almost simultaneously with the mechanical discoveries of Arkwright and others, in cotton manufacturing machines, this field of cotton production became disclosed to American enterprise.

The range of the cotton district may be said to commence on the Atlantic coast in South Carolina, and to extend in a westerly direction to the Mississippi, running principally within 33 to 34½ degrees of north latitude; afterwards its course becomes bent to the south, following the circuit of the Gulf of Mexico, and passing through the Texas to the 28th degree. This may be considered the acknowledged locality of cotton culture, though it is well known that cotton is raised both north and south of this narrow range. That which is grown north of this line is coarse in quality, the plant is feeble, and the climate more exposed to frost; whilst in the country more south, particularly in Louisiana, where the sugar cane is extensively grown, the cotton plant flourishes, but the crop is liable to frequent and serious injury from the attacks of insects. The usual fertility of this cotton range is attributed not alone to the

soil, which is an alluvial deposit of great depth, but also to its proximity to that great basin of sea water in the Gulf of Mexico, lying under a tropical sun. The evaporations which are thus given out, being attracted to the mountainous region of the north, become condensed into showers which nourish and invigorate the plant. These resources of nature, namely, a rich alluvial soil, combined with alternate heat and moisture, give vigour to the plant, and productiveness to the crop.

Proximity to the Mississippi gives command of cheap water conveyance to carry the cotton bales to market, and the planter has thus been afforded the incalculable advantage of an economy of production, and with great power of enlargement, from year to year, of our supplies of this great article of necessity. We were informed that the cost of conveyance of a bale of cotton from Memphis to New Orleans, a distance of nearly 1,000 miles, was sometimes as low as one dollar. Hence the rapid rate of extension of cotton culture will be creative of little surprise. Without commencing our observations so far back as the period of its introduction, we will content ourselves by tracing the current of its more recent progress.

The cotton crop of	1820–21,	was ...	430,000 bales.
Do.	1826–27,	...	957,281 ,,
Do.	1837–38,	...	1,301,497 ,,
Do.	1839–40,	...	2,177,835 ,,
Do.	1850–51,	...	2,755,257 ,,
Do.	1852–53,	...	3,262,882 ,,
Do.	1853–54,	...	2,950,027 ,,
Do.	1854–55,	...	3,118,339 ,,
Do.	1855–56,	...	3,527,845 ,,

Showing that in a period of 36 years the increase of production has been about eightfold. The rate of consump-

tion latterly has been steadily gaining upon the growth; and this is important, seeing that our consumption of cotton fabrics still holds out the promise of being largely progressive. The increase of cotton culture does not depend upon the extent of the soil, but upon the number of slaves at the command of the planter. Therefore, in forming any estimate of production, reference must be had almost exclusively to the numerical increase of the slave population. We find, that in 1840 the slave population was 2,487,455; and in 1850, 3,204,313:—showing, in round numbers, an increase in ten years of 30 per cent. But it must be borne in mind that there has been, in addition to natural increase, a gradual transfer of slaves from the grain districts of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Delaware, to the cotton districts which border upon the Mexican Gulf.

PLANTATION LIFE IN THE COTTON FIELDS.

As before noticed, the introduction of the cotton plant took place in the eastern states of South Carolina and Georgia. We now find that in the course of sixty years these lands have gradually become exhausted of their fertility, and many of the planters have left them, and gone westward to the Mississippi country, taking with them their families, their slaves, and all that they had. Upon their arrival in the west, they usually enter upon forest lands, burn down the trees, scratch the surface with a mule plough, and deposit the seeds. The principal portion of the planters have very little money; they buy their land on credit, and obtain advances of cash from their factors at New Orleans, at rates of interest which,

with attendant expenses, amount to nearly 20 per cent. per annum. The planter who thus makes his purchase of an estate, never considers it in the light of a permanent possession, but looks forward to leave it when it becomes run out. On this account they do not build expensive mansions, but erect a plain dwelling-house of wood, having it conveniently surrounded by a garden, a stable, a shed, and other premises for the picking and ginning of cotton, and about fifty or sixty wood cabins for the negroes.

Eventually, perhaps, in the course of twenty or thirty years, they look out for some new settlement, presenting the attractions of a virgin soil, with commodious access to some navigable river; and having found what they desired, they are by no means reluctant to surrender the property they have so long held, together with whatever friendly associations they may have formed in the country. Bigger crops are held to outweigh all other considerations. This desire for newer and better land, instead of improving that which they possess, may require to be accounted for. We know that the farmers of this country have it in their power to increase the fertility of their land by the consumption of hay, turnips, &c., which they raise for their cattle. This facility of improvement is not in the power of the cotton planter: the cotton which he raises on his land does not admit of being converted into manure, as is the case with hay and turnips; it is carried away for other uses, and therefore an entire exhaustion of the soil is the consequence, followed by a description of weed which they call China weed, or nut grass. So notoriously destructive of fertlity is this weed, that when the planter removes from any place where it

prevails, he has the hoofs of his horses, his cattle, and even his utensils, very carefully washed, lest they should convey the seeds with them.

The only cotton lands which do admit of being sustained in permanent cultivation, are those we have before referred to, on the sea coasts of Georgia and South Carolina, where deposits of saline mud are obtainable. They do not usually plant the cotton seeds before the 1st of April; but in the present year [1857] they were induced to commence planting during fine weather about the middle of March, and the plant was destroyed by frost. They reckon upon the cultivation of twelve acres of cotton land, besides some portion of corn land, by one hand; and in extreme cases, in such plentiful years as that of 1855, a single hand has been known to gather as much as sixteen to eighteen bales,—and in one instance twenty-two bales of cotton, in a single season. Taking into account the inferior lands of the older cotton states, the average produce may be calculated at not more than six bales per head; and according to this estimate, for 600,000 slaves, the crop would make 3,600,000 bales, or a little over the crop of 1855, which was 3,527,845 bales. The production is very variable: there are parts of the same plantation, yielding in some cases one bale, and in others one and a-half to two bales of cotton to the acre. We were shown one plantation of 100 acres, which in 1855 produced the extraordinary crop of 211 bales of 500lbs. each.

SLAVERY.

We now come to another aspect of slavery, one which has been more recently established than that of South

Carolina. The period is comparatively short since the principal part of the Mississippi country has been brought under cultivation. On this account the planters, as well as the slaves, may be considered as the occupiers of a thinly-peopled country, where the local institutions are either not completely organised, or of very recent origin. The slaves were regarded with the same sort of attention as in South Carolina; the hospitals and other arrangements for the sick were provided in the same manner; and the slaves had their garden plots, their poultry, and their pigs, whereby they could realise a little money. It was evident that, although materially well cared for, they had not as yet become equally advanced in social life. We never saw any deadly weapon in the hands of any of the American planters, or of their servants: the driver would carry a whip, but the whips did not appear very frightful to look upon. Often we strolled among the negroes, mixing with the groups of their funny-looking little children, with black curly hair, as full of mirth and playfulness as children under any circumstances usually are.

There were amongst them a considerable number of superannuated people, those whom they called "loafers" —a term which signifies no longer able to work. These old people are employed to feed the poultry, collect their eggs, and engage in anything they may find to do in the stables, the garden, or other premises of their master. One of these whom we saw, and who was upwards of seventy years of age, had been brought from Africa about fifty years before. His countenance brightened when we spoke to him of his early home; but his recollections

were very faint, and it did not seem desirable to awaken those emotions which, in his enfeebled state, might have become painful. He was pleased to tell us of his allowance of rations,—how much pork, how much bread, and other articles he daily received. We inquired if he knew in what manner the old people were provided for in his own country. The poor fellow, with a loud laugh, and knowing look, exclaimed "No pork there, Massa!"

The negro dwellings were ranged two together, formed of boards upon foundations of brick; and when formed in this way would cost £130. The houses of the overseers cost about £200. The Mississippi is liable to overflow its banks, break down the "levees," and lay the country under water: on this account they erect their dwellings of brickwork to the height of six feet, and thus elevate the floors beyond the reach of disasters by flooding. The cost of building is greater than might be supposed, as the expense is greatly increased by the scarcity and dearness of every kind of building labour. Their bricks are made of common earth, by working it in a wood box, with an agitator turned by a mule. They are burnt with wood fires, and cost 17s. per thousand.

COTTON PLANTERS.

In this country we have been accustomed to imagine that there was something of a commanding position, or imposing attitude, in the life of the cotton planter. This impression would be a great mistake in relation to those enjoyments which are so much appreciated by the people of this country, in the charms which belong to domestic life and an English home. He may be the proprietor of a

large domain, annually yielding large and valuable crops; he may hold supreme authority over a great number of hands, to cultivate his land and gather his harvest; and he may have command of one of the finest rivers in the world, provided with fleets of steamers to convey his produce to the market;—yet no one who is practically acquainted with all the responsibilities, would consider the life of a planter one to be desired. There is not in the nature of such a property that sort of attraction which would induce any ordinary person to glory in that which he possessed. The climate is unenjoyable, unfavourable to health, and so dangerous to the white man, that the planter and his family cannot remain in the country beyond the six months of the year, from November to May. They mostly live in situations which are isolated; and during the first half of this period they are chiefly confined within doors by incessant rains. Afterwards the weather is showery, and highly favourable to the growth of cotton plants, followed by intense heat, which ripens the pod.

On the approach of summer, the heat of the climate, together with the annoyance of mosquitoes, render it necessary for the family of the planter to remove, perhaps to a distance of 2,000 miles, to enjoy the colder and more bracing atmosphere of the north. This six months of absence is an annually occurring inconvenience and expense, as well as a very harrassing undertaking, for the promotion of health, and perhaps for the saving of their lives. In these six months they are moving about to such places of public resort as Saratoga, Niagara, Newport, or the White Mountains; residing amongst the

mixed company of the various hotels, involving a fearful inroad upon their domestic habits, and on that account to be regretted. The planter himself must, as a matter of course, make up his mind to incur the deprivation of that enjoyment which a life of agriculture usually affords to those who delight in the pursuit,—more especially during that interesting period of the ripening and harvesting of his crops. The care of his plantation and slaves must for the time devolve upon overseers, mostly white men who have become acclimated; and for this purpose the whites are more judicious, more generous, and more reliable than negro drivers usually are; consequently, they are preferred by the slaves themselves.

One of the largest planters informed us that the greatest drawback to his comfort upon leaving his plantations in the month of May, was the difficulty he had in procuring reliable overseers, those whom he could trust, to maintain order, and attend to his interest during his absence. This gentleman also informed us that he had neither locks nor bolts upon the doors or windows of his house; that he did not allow any one to carry arms; and that he had never sold a slave, excepting for misconduct. Similar representations we heard from other planters.

Plantation life presents no sort of attraction to the ladies: indeed, from the accounts we heard of the privations of some of them, they were very much to be felt for. They are often placed at a considerable distance from any of the other plantations; they have no roads deserving the name of roads, and in the rainy season they are impassable, except for the cotton waggons. Consequently, they are much confined to their homes; and the wood houses

they inhabit become so saturated with moisture, that when they approach the toilet they are obliged to wipe off the accumulations of water adhering to the dressing glasses and the doors of their wardrobes. The domestic servants they select from the slaves on their plantations: hence they are unskilled in those arts which would enable them to minister acceptably to the comforts of well-trained people. It was also expressed as an occasion of regret, that these negroes are unable to prevent the disagreeable sensations which are occasioned to the whites, by the moisture which exudes from their skin. Strangers seldom visit these remote places. One lady informed us she had sometimes been as long as six months at a time, without seeing the white face of one of her own sex.

In these thinly-peopled districts they are unprovided with shops; therefore they make arrangements for their provisions for the whole period of their residence in the country; and a lady once remarked of this inconvenience, that if she happened to require a lemon for cookery, she sent for it by steamer to New Orleans, a distance of 500 miles. She told us she led a very cheerful life, and always contrived to keep herself employed. She had her apportioned hours for reading and for correspondence, and it was quite evident that she did not allow her solitude to lapse into idleness, seeing that she was possessed of intellectual powers such as are seldom equalled. The gentlemen do not find the life of the planter quite so difficult to endure. They have always upon their hands the affairs of their plantations; and at the commencement of the year they usually spend a month or six weeks at New Orleans, in disposing of their cotton, purchasing their

annual supplies of pickled pork, provisions, and clothing required for their negroes, together with the implements for their husbandry. When the weather is favourable, they sometimes get up a stag hunt in the woods. The gentlemen are mounted, form themselves into a line, have their fowling-pieces loaded with heavy shot, and in this manner succeed in getting as many as five or six stags in a day. In the midst of their pursuit they sometimes spring a rattlesnake; and upon hearing the rattle they all gather to the place, and dispatch him at once.

The woods and thickets in which the deer are found, appear almost interminable: they are largely composed of brushwood and wild canes. The trees are of large dimensions, more particularly the live oak; and upon the lower branches there adheres a description of fibrous weed called Tillandsia, or Spanish moss, which descends in clusters, forming festoons of five or six feet long, after the manner of drapery,—imparting a decorative effect to the magnificent appearance of the trees.

The birds we saw were mostly of beautiful plumage; the generality of them were unlike the birds of this country. The rook had the resemblance of the English rook, but when he opened his mouth we did not hear the usual "caw," but a hoarse disagreeable sound, like the barking of a dog. The mocking bird was very amusing: he would imitate the song of any other bird; and on one occasion we heard him mewing like a cat. The wild turkey is a splendid bird; one specimen which we saw brought in from the woods weighed 22lbs., and his plumage was remarkably glossy and fine.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER OF A PLANTER.

You may feel curious to know something of the class who are engaged in cotton planting. The pursuit is of recent origin. By way of illustration, we may adduce the name of one of superior order—Colonel Wade Hampton. He was descended from the family of one of the first settlers in the state of South Carolina, who lived there when the country was exposed to the marauding incursions of the red Indians. In the year 1779, eleven members of this family were murdered by these savage tribes. In his ancestry his name was closely identified with the patriotism of his country, and with those who had aided to wrest it from the hands of the savages, and who had afterwards shared in the overthrow of the British authority, and established the consolidated power of the Republic, which all Americans now so fondly cherish.

The father of Colonel Hampton, finding himself liberated from military service, became a cotton planter; and in 1796 he was the first planter who raised a crop of 600 acres. Col. Wade Hampton discovered that his father's partiality had induced him to bequeath the great bulk of his property to himself; and he at once destroyed his father's will, and accepted his equal share with the other members of the family, his stepmother included. It is now about thirty years since he perceived it to be his interest to remove from South Carolina, to the more fertile lands of Lake Washington, in the state of Mississippi. The evidence of material success which has followed his removal, is afforded on every hand; and his unceasing attention to the comfort and happiness of the negro race,

is admitted to have been most exemplary. In the evenings, when the log was blazing on the hearth, the company of this remarkable man, seated in his easy chair, was very enlivening. He was full of reminiscences of the olden time,—reminding the young Americans how much they owed to the inflexible will and devoted patriotism of those who had preceded them.

SLAVE LABOUR, ECONOMY OF PRODUCTION, AND FUTURE SUPPLIES.

Those persons who have witnessed the constantly occurring occasions of excitement arising out of the conflicting statements annually issued regarding the prospects of the cotton crop, cannot fail to be desirous for information relating to our dependence upon the United States, in so large an extent, for this raw material of our manufacture. We may rest assured that the cotton lands of the United States are sufficient to uphold, for centuries to come, the supply of as much cotton as almost any increase of our consumption would require. It has already been shown that it is the *negro* crop (so to speak) which determines the extent of the cotton crop; and that the command of negro labour is confined within the narrow bounds of the numerical increase of the negro race born within the United States. The cotton crop is therefore subject to the influence of an economic law which is but slightly variable in its operation. The increase of the race is estimated at three per cent. In addition to this rate of natural increase, the emigration from the north is about two per cent., making together five per cent. of annual increase of labour. Therefore, setting aside the variations

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of seasons, this five per cent. added to cotton culture, may be considered to represent the ratio of annual increase of the cotton crops. The cutting off of this migration of "hands," would of itself occasion a wide-spread inconvenience; and a revolt among the slaves would seriously interrupt the national prosperity of Great Britain. Possibly no one would undertake to say that the effects of either of these changes are immediately impending; but no one who has visited the United States will be induced to believe that the Northerners intend the existence of slavery to be permanent.

With such an emergency impending, however distant, there is a duty devolving upon every British subject to consider the capabilities of India and other countries, in which we might place confidence for future supplies. The West Indian Islands have at one time supplied us largely with cotton, and there is no valid reason why they might not do so again. "Africa," as Dr. Livingstone informs us, "is the very territory for cotton," and we have sufficient evidence that the growth of cotton there, could be profitably conducted, and the negro population retained to labour on the soil of their birth, instead of being carried away, as they now are, for sale as animals. With relation to India, it may with still greater reason be inquired what is it that has hindered our success in cotton culture? and how has it happened that the producing power of India has been defeated in competition by the planters of the United States? So far as we are informed, it has not been by reason of any inferiority of soil or climate, for these are considered equal to those of America. Neither will it be contended that it is owing to any inferiority of

labour, for the free labour of the Hindoo is known to be both cheaper and better than the slave labour of the United States. The disadvantage, so far as hitherto discovered, consists in nothing more than in the requisite economy of carrying the cotton to market. The American planter has the boats of the Mississippi; India has her rivers, but not her boats, and in the absence of boat accommodation, the Hindoo planter carries his cotton to market, at enormous cost, on the backs of bullocks.

The expense of cultivation in the United States, as compared with that of India, may be considered very dear. The interest of borrowed money is high. Slaves are costly, and the labour they perform is not large nor skilfully done. Hence the growth of American cotton may be put down at three-pence per pound, but it can be conveyed to market at a mere fraction of a penny per pound; whilst in India the Hindoo can raise his cotton at one-half the money, say at three-half-pence per pound; but he has to incur a charge of two-pence per pound in conveying it to the seaboard for sale. It is also no slight increase to the other disadvantages of the Hindoo planter, that by reason of his extreme poverty, and the money loans which he finds it necessary to procure, his cotton, which is inferior to American, has sometimes to pass through the hands of two or three intermediate dealers, by whom it is frequently adulterated with earthy matter. These and other hindrances to his prosperity are very overpowering; and thus we see cotton of India brought to Liverpool, under disadvantages of quality, to take its chance of sale against the better cotton of the United States.

FOURTH LECTURE.

MISSISSIPPI TRAVELLING.

Upon leaving the cotton plantations, we resumed our course northwards, upon the splendid but perilous Mississippi. It was at midnight on the 17th of April, that we embarked in the *Southern Belle* steamer, for Memphis. The distance was 300 miles, and our fares were only ten dollars each, or a little over 1½d. per mile for travelling, our lodging and meals being included. The ship was crowded to excess, having 180 passengers.

The saloon was elegantly furnished, and the commissariat department was as well conducted as in most of the hotels of the country. The scenery on the river being flat and woody, soon became monotonous;—all the windings and turnings, as we approached them, disclosing another succession of broken, sloping banks. Here and there, at the distance of some miles from one another, there would be an open space which had been cleared out of the forest for a cotton plantation, having in a sheltered nook the planter's residence, and the cabins of his slaves around him. The principal timber of these forests is called the cotton-wood tree; it is indigenous, rising up with great rapidity, even upon the strand which the river has but recently deserted; and when cut down it is split up, and sold as faggots at 15d. per cubic yard.

As soon as the interest we had felt in the scenery began to flag, our curiosity became centered upon the mixed assemblage of passengers by whom we were surrounded. It was evident that they belonged to a great variety of trading pursuits, and, being accustomed to the long range of distances usual in steam boat travelling, and often detained together for days or weeks, their intercourse with one another became free and social. Amongst such a group there would be those who were residing in very distant parts of the Union, perhaps thousands of miles away from one another. Every one would try to take caste as a trader or a planter, or as having before him some important pursuit, and not on any account an idler or man of leisure. He would be quite free to converse upon his own individual concerns, and equally intent upon making out the purposes and pursuits of others. There were some few who evidently belonged to the more cultivated classes: many others looked like ardent struggling men, of shrewd intelligence, but mostly ill-bred; making an inflated display, and utterly regardless of any conventional restraint. They were most under observation in the area of a covered gallery which surrounds the ship; and when lounging at ease it was a funny sight to see them sitting, or rather lying extended at full length, having their bodies resting on one chair and their legs upon the back of another in front of them.

They are not considerate enough to arrange themselves in lines to facilitate the passing of other persons along the gallery; on the contrary, they have the space fully crowded by lolling in the most awkward postures. Every one smokes tobacco, and most of them use the weed

in a more offensive manner, as indicated by the streaks of tobacco juice radiating from their lips to the distance of four or five feet on the surrounding floor. We were amused to observe that whenever a lady entered their presence, in moving along, the occupant of his couple of chairs would start up as if electrified, and, with great show of condescension, would make way for her. Not so, however, if a gentleman was desirous to obtain the favour; they would allow him to wind about in the best way he could, and not one of the parties would draw in a single inch. The assemblage of such a group afforded an amusing study. Each one shared the enjoyment of the smoke, and the posture of indulgent ease, evidently coupled with the desire to impress upon his associates the idea that there was an unmistakable importance attaching to his own individual position. This description of vanity was sometimes offensively conspicuous, and it was but too obvious that, despite their efforts to conceal it, many of them betrayed an absence of that tranquillity which adorns the face of true happiness. The same expression of severity has become so universal, that the portrait painters convey this feature in the lineaments even of their great worthies.

It is well known that in the United States, the wayward career of young children is allowed to go unchecked; they have not been inured to the constraining effect of filial obedience. A case of childish freedom happened to present itself, and as it was more amusing than ill-natured, we may notice it by way of example.

An English passenger was accosted with unusual familiarity by a smart-looking little fellow of about eight

years of age. "Well, sir," said the boy, "I take it you will be a Britisher?" "Yes," replied the gentleman; "and what of that, my boy?" The boy then proceeded to inquire—"And I guess you will be a soldier?" "Yes," said the gentleman, "you are quite right; I belong to the British army." "I thought so," retorted the lad; "and I was just wondering whether you had forgot the licking we gied you at New Orleans." The lad's parents were present, looking on and listening; but they did not consider it necessary to offer any apology: on the contrary, they appeared to enjoy the amusement thus created.

As we proceeded northward, in the month of April, the atmospheric changes were exactly the reverse of those we had witnessed when approaching the south, in the month of February. In the course of a very few weeks we had passed from the severe winter of New York, to the summer heat of the Island of Cuba. We were now returning up the current of the Mississippi, leaving behind us the mild and genial region of New Orleans. The course of the thermometer was daily descending; the open foliage of the south gradually disappearing; and at length we found ourselves in the leafless forest.

One of our passengers was a small trader from California. He had joined a party of adventurers who left the United States some years before, and had travelled in a couple of waggons the whole distance of 3,000 miles from Chicago, and had been four months, or 120 days, in performing this arduous journey. They had passed the Mormon settlement at Salt Lake, and he gave some account of the disgusting social tyranny which was being exercised over the settlers.

Referring to a period as far back as 1848, California was comparatively an unknown country. An accidental discovery of gold caused many thousands of adventurers to be attracted to "The Digins." In such a community there would be found the most reckless of every country, living under no sort of restraint or observance of law or order. The productions of the soil could not sustain the people; and they were dependent for almost every article of necessity upon importations from abroad. There was no system of credit; no one could go upon trust; their supplies were sometimes running short; food would be at famine prices; and the confusion and distress impossible to describe. This man had with him a boy of four years of age, the child of a red Indian, whom he had bought of the mother in exchange for half a barrel of flour and a couple of blankets. There was an expression of sharpness and a wild look about the lad; he was playful, and would often pretend to be hiding himself in some sort of fancied concealment. He said he had been induced to purchase the lad in the expectation that by taking charge of him at so early an age, he could train him to some useful purpose; and he was the more confident he could do this, because his brother had succeeded in a similar instance.

In describing the country of California, the man remarked upon the growth of very large trees, and his account of them would have appeared incredible, had we not in this country the evidence of a specimen which has been brought over, and the trunk erected in the Crystal Palace. This "mammoth tree" measures at the base 31 feet in diameter, is 363 feet in height, and the bark is 18

inches in thickness. These immense trees are met with in considerable numbers, growing in sheltered places amongst the mountains, nearly 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. They have the appearance of a new genus, resembling the cedars of Lebanon; and according to the usual estimates formed by botanists, this one must be upwards of 3,000 years old. The sight of a grove of such trees must impress the mind with an enlarged idea of the magnificence of nature; and more especially with the remarkable fact, if such data is correct, that there are groves of trees not having yet matured their growth, although when striplings they might have been contemporaries with Moses and the prophets.

MEMPHIS AND TENNESSEE.

We landed at Memphis, the most considerable city on the river betwixt New Orleans and St. Louis. From this place we availed ourselves of a railway communication recently opened across the country, through the state of Tennessee, and proceeded to the city of Nashville.

Tennessee is a cotton growing state, but that portion of it through which we passed, being from 35 to 36 degrees parallel of latitude, is too far north for successful cultivation of cotton. We noticed that the cotton plants appeared dwarfish; and many of the plantations were small. The returns for 1850 reported that there were in the whole of that state as many as 4,000 cotton planters, raising variously from as low as three and four bales up to as many as 1,000 bales each; and altogether 194,000 bales.

We also learnt that in this state there was some extent of cotton cultivation done by white labour. This was a

surprise to us, and we felt curious to investigate the subject, seeing that in our previous observations we had not heard of any instance in which the attempt to raise cotton by white labour had ever been successfully made. It had always been represented to us, that the white race were unable to endure the heat of the sun, and the annoyance occasioned by mosquitoes and other insects, which the negro race disregarded,—the mid-day sun inspiring them with mirth and enjoyment.

An agent who was procuring supplies of free labour cotton for the English market, informed us that he mostly procured it from small farmers in the northern parts of Tennessee, and in some of the other states which in like manner were bordering upon the range of cotton culture; that it was grown upon small patches of sheltered ground, yielding three or four bales a-year, and that this quantity was as much as the generality of farmers had a sufficiency of hands to pick. The picking of the pods was undertaken by the females of the household: they could not stand the employment throughout the day, as the negroes did, but commenced picking when the dew of the morning had disappeared, covering their heads with sun bonnets: they ceased operations in the middle of the day, and resumed them in the evenings till sundown. As these were the only parties to supply the free-labour cotton, the agent seldom found more than four bales in any one hand, and the trouble involved was considerable, whilst the quantity obtained was very small. In order to appreciate the difficulty of cotton culture by white people in that portion of the United States, which may be called the cotton region, the following illustration will suffice. It

has been extracted from the letter of a lady, dated June, 1858, and was expressive of disappointment that the family should have been prevented from leaving the country at the usual time in the month of May, by reason of the flooding of the Mississippi, and the consequent disasters sustained on the plantations. The writer says, "This place is nearly submerged from the overflow of the river. Not a bale of cotton will be made this year upon either of our plantations. Apart from the numerous inconveniences attendant upon the loss of river stations and our island position, we are rendered uncomfortable by the intense heat, and the swarms of troublesome insects. Indeed, an entomologist would find his paradise in this region in the dog days; for the rare specimens of animated nature are marvellous to behold. I am obliged to sit under a 'bar' all the day, as well as to sleep under one at night; and it is truly a '*bar' sinister* to all free circulation of air; for by a 'bar' you must know that I mean a thick close net of lace, used solely in compliment to the creeping and crawling plagues which infest these swamps, and sting us into an almost fever of impatience. Thus you see it is high time for us to seek for cooler and dryer climes."

How humiliating is the fact, that so large a portion of the human family, hastening onward as they are in the race of civilization, should continue to be dependent for clothing upon region a so uncongenial to the white population, and to the industry of 700,000 of the negro race.

As we passed along towards the north, it was evident that hour by hour we were leaving the cotton culture,

and entering upon the husbandry of grain. The slave cabins were passing out of sight, and the country was becoming studded with little wayside villages, having their wood-framed houses painted white, and their window blinds green. Small merchants' stores would be seen amongst the rest, having prominently inscribed upon them the significant words "Cash for grain." Thus outbidding the attractions of the other storekeepers who still adhered to the primitive system of barter.

Nashville is the capital of the state of Tennessee, with a population of 20,000. The principal building is the State House, or Capitol, recently erected at a cost of £200,000. It stands upon an elevated ridge of ground overlooking a vast extent of fine bold country. The rooms appropriated to the state representatives are very becoming, not to say elegant; and the decorations are of an emblematic character, such as the statuette of an Indian chief, one of the original proprietors of the state, followed by other representations which indicated the progress of civilization in the display of their staple products, such as wheat, maize, cotton, tobacco, hogs, &c. &c.

STAGE TRAVELLING.

At the early hour of three o'clock in the morning, we embarked in one of those antiquated conveyances called a "stage;" drawn by four horses at the rate of about four miles an hour, and after toiling all day and till ten o'clock at night; we found ourselves at a country inn called the "Three Forks," having travelled ninety miles in nineteen hours. The back and front seats carried

three passengers upon each, and betwixt these a swing seat was suspended from the roof, which carried three more, making nine inside passengers, besides babies, and in a space too cramped for our limbs to move. On the outside there were also other passengers and abundance of luggage. The country was picturesque, and the scenery would have been enjoyable had it been summer. When we came to ascend the hills, the passengers would receive a familiar invitation from the coachman to get out and take a walk,—a description of treat which would have been all the more welcome, had the snow storms been somewhat less severe. There was one very familiar designation of the American roads, formed of the trunks of trees lying crosswise, which we thought conveyed a very appropriate meaning, namely, "corduroy." We ascertained that not more than one-fifth of this road had ever been metalled, or had received any covering of stone. Nearly the whole of our way was slightly fenced, or not fenced at all; and in the absence of bridges, our conveyance was placed on rafts, and moved across the rivers. There were other occasions of our experience of "stage" travelling, but it will be unnecessary again to remark upon the difficulty, or the fatigue occasioned to passengers.

Do not suppose that even the jolting of this machine could suppress the native curiosity, or prevent the conversational intercourse of the passengers. On the contrary, an ugly jolt would arouse an apology for the crushing of your hat, or some other misadventure, and thus intrude an intercourse, and assume the character of a formal introduction, or lead to a travelling acquaintance.

In this way, being subjected to the conversation of a "stage" for nineteen hours, there would necessarily transpire something which might deserve to be remembered; perhaps some feature of American character, which might serve to amuse.

One of the passengers was an Illinois farmer, and no doubt a good specimen of that class of men. He was not rustic, but simple, and his remarks were often shrewd. He soon betrayed the usual desire of all American people, to acquaint himself with whatever could be gleaned in the way of intelligence, and seeing that we were strangers in the country, he was evidently impatient to know something of us. We had long since discovered that it was our best policy to relieve and not to torture the curiosity of our fellow-travellers; and finding themselves treated with confidence, they reciprocate and are equally ready to disclose whatever information they possess. After relating the narrative of our already extended route, and having informed him of our prospects of visiting other parts of the United States and Canada, the farmer was in great astonishment, and could not understand what should induce well-to-do people to leave their comfortable homes in England for the mere sight of the wild forests and naked prairies of America. However, he betrayed a warm interest in whatever concerned the "old country," as he called it, and his manner altogether was more pleasing than intrusive.

He soon made us acquainted with the history of himself, and with the knowledge of what belonged to his pursuits on the prairies of Illinois. It appeared that he was "located" in the vicinity of the Illinois Central

Railway; that he had got his land under good husbandry, growing large crops of wheat, maize, barley, oats, &c. &c.; and that he was annually raising and fattening a great many hogs. That by means of the railway he had command of three good markets for his produce, namely, Chicago, New Orleans, and New York; and thus he could easily dispose of everything he could raise. He described his land as a level country, free from trees, or from any of the stumps of trees; and he considered that it was worth forty dollars per acre. In the absence of labourers to reap his harvest, he had made purchase of a reaping machine, for 130 dollars, which would reap from twelve to twenty acres of grain per day. This machine required two horses and an attendant to work it; and when he had finished his own reaping, he loaned it out to the neighbouring farmers at the rate of half-a-dollar per acre.

He told us that the hogs he raised were pickled and barrelled for the negroes on the plantations. The barrel of pork weighs 200 pounds, and is sold variously at from 15 to 23 dollars. The information which he thus communicated relating to the prairies, and the extensive land sales which were then making to emigrants, assumed an unexpected importance from the fact that a young man who was a fellow-passenger, and who had been listening to the farmer's conversation, was himself personally interested as an intended settler.

This adventurous character was a native of Massachusetts, and had received his education at the public schools and universities of the state. At a recent examination through which he had passed, he had been held

competent to the profession of the law; but as his pecuniary resources were scanty, he had turned out in search of a speculation—probably one in land, intending in the course of a few years to realise his 8,000 or 10,000 dollars, and return to Massachusetts, where he could re-invest his money, enter upon his profession, and get married. In this unreserved manner he at once disclosed what he considered to relate to his forecast of the future. From advertisements which he had seen, it had been passing in his mind that he could buy from the Illinois Central Railway Company a tract of prairie land upon credit, at from five to eight dollars per acre, they allowing him to hold the land from year to year, upon paying interest upon the amount of the purchase money at the rate of seven per cent. per annum. That eventually, by means of accumulated profits and improvements on his farm, he could re-sell, and thus carry out the ulterior object he had in view. The opportunity thus afforded of conversing with a practical farmer, the young man seized with great avidity. His interrogatories were incessant, and altogether so unpractical that the farmer's patience became tried; and at length he gave the young man to understand, that as an Illinois farmer he would have need of other knowledge besides that which he had acquired from the study of books.

In substance, the farmer told him that the prairie was a flat country, clear of timber, covered with long coarse grass, and would yield good wheat crops in every alternate year; but that it would be necessary for intermediate crops of other grain to follow wheat, in order to prevent the land from getting foul with weeds. The "stage" at

length arrived at the Three Forks Tavern; we got released from our imprisonment, and transferred to the luxury of a comfortable fire of wood, a cup of tea, and repose for the night.

MAMMOTH CAVE.

The cave was eight miles distant, through a hilly woodland country of beautiful scenery; but the road, so called, was frightful. The Cave Hotel is large, and during the summer months is much crowded. The proprietor furnished us with lamps and guides to conduct us through these deep recesses of the earth. We were again reminded that the true American insists upon convincing everybody that nature has designed his country upon the most gigantic scale; not only in her rivers and her lakes, but in all the broad features of creation, not even omitting the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky: and, indeed, it would be impossible to impress upon the mind of a stranger any accurate conception of this marvellous cavern.

The visitor finds himself overpowered with a sense of awe of the grandeur and sublimity of this underground formation, which extends over a circuit of fifteen miles, and requires several days fully to explore. The chasms or openings assume a very varied character, and the guide books have classified them as consisting of 226 avenues, 47 domes, 8 cataracts, and 23 pits. Without entering very minutely into particulars, we may content ourselves with describing some of the objects we most admired.

Many of the caverns are enormously large and lofty; and, from the accidental character of their construction, they sometimes present appearances which look striking

and singular; and some of them are rendered increasingly interesting by formations of stalactite, produced after the manner of icicles, from droppings falling from the roof, containing lime and earthy matter, which become consolidated in the most amusing forms imaginable. The combined effect of these chasms, clothed in their varied decorations, have awakened the imagination of guides and visitors, and given rise to names of objects and places to which they were supposed to bear analogy. For instance, one cavern is called the "Star Chamber." It resembles a magnificent hall, with rocky sides, and an imaginary array of arches: the dark surface of the ceiling has suggested the name, from its being studded over with particles of mica, or of some metallic substance, which gives out a sparkling effect most inimitably resembling the starry firmament. The cavern called the "Church" is 100 feet in diameter, with a roof 63 feet from the ground, composed of one solid mass of rock. In order to complete the appropriateness of its ecclesiastical character, the contrivance of a pulpit and a recess for the organ and choristers have been arranged, by the grouping of the scattered masses of rock and stalactite which were lying within the area of the place. The "Pensico Avenue" is also suggestive of the idea of a sacred edifice. The roof is lofty, and appears to be supported by a series of lancet arches. The architectural look of the place, although formed without the aid of human art, was invested with so much of the Gothic and cathedral character that, it was said, a sense of devotional feeling was sometimes almost irresistibly inspired in awe of its appearance. The "Grand Gallery" resembles an immense tunnel of many

miles in length. The "Audubon Avenue" is 50 to 60 feet wide, about the same in height, and extends to one mile in length. The "Cross Room" has a ceiling of 170 feet span, sustained without any column or other apparent support. The Mammoth Dome is 280 feet over head, and when illuminated, presents a very impressive spectacle. Indeed, there would appear no end of domes and caves, nor any limit of fancied resemblances. We remarked that the stalactite of this cave presents fewer interesting objects than we have seen in the cave of Adelberg, in Austria; and we felt regret that the cave itself was not exhibited with adequate effect. It was not sufficiently lighted to disclose its true grandeur, and left an impression upon the visitors which was far too sombre.

In the depths there were pools and streams of water. Looking over the sides of a deep precipice, there was a dark-looking sheet of water, called the "Dead Sea." A stream was called the "River Styx." Another pool of considerable dimensions had a boat upon it, which conveyed us through the interior of a frightful-looking recess. In these waters there was an extraordinary kind of fish called the "White Eyeless;" and we were assured that there was nothing like an eye had ever been discovered by the anatomists who had experimented upon them. About nine miles within the cave, and at the termination of an avenue, there was an awful looking pit called the "Maelstrom."

Thousands have long gazed upon it with feelings of dread, but no one had been daring enough to explore it until last summer, when a visitor, Mr. Prentice, of Louisville, allowed himself to be let down by a rope. During

his descent, he suffered inconvenience from the splashing of water, gushing from the cataracts on the sides, and he felt some alarm from the falling of loose stones which he displaced in passing; but he arrived at the bottom uninjured, at the depth of 190 feet, and found that the floor was about 18 feet in diameter, and covered with black silex.

At the unpropitious hour of ten at night, we resumed our seats in the stage for Louisville; and at two o'clock the following day we had completed our 54 miles in the course of 16 hours; the toil of the remaining distance of 36 miles, was acceptably relieved by railway accommodation. It may be remarked, that although the general wants of the travelling community may be well served with railways and steam boats, it is obvious that the interior of the country is ill-provided with that indispensable necessity of civilisation—the common highway.

It may be presumed that when the urgency has been sufficiently felt, the requisite highways will be provided; but to our surprise, those who understood the country and the disposition of the inhabitants, did not appear sanguine in their expectations of this result; at all events for some considerable period of time. This absence of public spirit may be accounted for by the fact that the whole of the country is in the occupation of settlers who do not look upon themselves as settled inhabitants. And, according to the information we received, it is the understood policy of nearly every one who comes into the country, to remain there only so long as may be necessary to accomplish the exhaustion of the soil he has purchased. There is no chosen spot of earth presents any abiding

attraction to the farmers of Kentucky; and when they move, they prefer the new and fertile lands of the west, and disregard the cultivation of the lands they have got. Hence they are unwilling to incur any expense for public benefit, by the construction of roads. Indeed, their utter indifference to local attachment appeared not only strange but culpable. We were assured that it was by no means unusual for a farmer to sell out, and go hundreds of miles westward, not only regardless of the friendly associations he had acquired in the country he was leaving, but also apparently unmindful of the no less than sacred ties involved in the remembrance of the tomb he had placed in some retired nook in his garden, in which he had seen deposited the remains of a deceased wife, and perhaps a number of his children.

The emigrants who are the buyers of land in this state are mostly from Germany. The usual terms of payment are one-fourth or one-third in cash, and the remainder in one to four years, or in some cases the purchases are made entirely on credit, and for longer periods of time. They are industrious and economic, and almost invariably succeed. The agricultural products of this state are very large, consisting of maize, wheat, barley, oats, hemp, and tobacco; and it is also celebrated for horses, mules, and cattle: Kentucky is also one of those northern states which are so largely engaged in raising slaves for the southern markets.

CITY OF LOUISVILLE.

Louisville, the chief city upon the Ohio river, takes date from about the year 1800, when the inhabitants did

not exceed 500. At the present time, the population has become 60,000; and as a specimen of a western city, it might reasonably excite one's curiosity to ascertain the local policy adopted in establishing its social and civil progress.

The attention given to the education of the young, has formed a leading feature in the advancement of the people, and we were informed that this city is now expending upon schools the sum of £10,000 a-year, raised in the usual way, by local taxation. The boys leave school variously from fourteen to sixteen, and there are some few who remain till eighteen years of age; whilst those who intend to follow the learned professions, attend the high schools and the universities for a longer period, to complete their classical and professional studies. The Sunday schools are such as we have before described; nearly every place of worship has a school, which is sustained by its own members, for the religious teaching of the children of their fellow-professors, and, in some instances, they receive the children of those who are unconnected with any religious profession. In a few of the schools we found that reading and writing were taught; but in the great majority the instruction was confined solely to matters relating to religion. Upon leaving the public schools, the boys find an easy introduction into all the common handicraft trades of the city. Some few take to agriculture, and a good many become clerks or salesmen in the stores. The wage of a labourer is one dollar a-day, and that of an artizan or mechanic as much as ten dollars a week.

From Louisville we proceeded by steamer to Cincinnatti. The arrangements of the boat were admirable, and

the fares remarkably low, being only two and a-half dollars for 120 miles, or at the rate of one penny per mile for travelling, including bed and board by the way. Cincinnatti has been designated the Queen of the West. It is 850 miles from New York, and is the largest capital of the Ohio and Mississippi country, having a population of nearly 200,000. It is placed in a rich district of agriculture, and derives its importance as the great depot for receiving and distributing the merchandise of that extensive region. The landing shore of the river alongside the city is above three miles in length; and not unfrequently there may be seen from 50 to 100 large river steamers loading and unloading. The grain and pork trades are enormously large; they form the chief source of the exchangeable wealth of the district, and the returns of the value of exports for the year 1856, had exceeded fifty millions of dollars, or ten millions sterling, which is a large sum for a river port situated so far in the interior of the country. The impression of the city itself, is at once surprising and gratifying. If there is not magnificence, there is something bordering upon it in the display of public buildings, and around the city there is an undulating and picturesque country, with mansions and other elegant residences of the wealthy class, which greatly adorn the suburbs.

The chief pursuits of the inhabitants arise out of the collecting and marketing of the natural products of the country. To enumerate or even to classify these pursuits would be difficult, but the recital of a few of them may interest or amuse, from their singularity and extent. The leading trade is that of the sale of grain. The distilling

of grain into whiskey is important, and there is another trade somewhat analagous to it in the manufacture of wine from grapes. The cultivation of the vine has been introduced by the German settlers, and it has now arrived at a state of prosperity. They are trained upon raised terraces of earthwork, and impart an agreeable interest to the landscape. The "sparkling Catawba" is very much enjoyed by the Americans, and may be termed the "home-brewed" champagne of the United States. The trade in hogs and barrelled pork affords a very graphic illustration of one of those vast resources of the country, which are at the command of the cultivator.

The young hogs, raised about the homestead of the farmer, are turned loose into the woods to earn their own livelihood, and mature their growth upon acorns, or whatever they can gather. They are then coaxed or collected together, and brought again to the homestead, to be fattened upon Indian corn; and when the rotundity of their bodies has been completed, they are disposed of to the buyers of Cincinnatti. Some idea of the importance of this trade may be gathered from the fact, that during the season as many as 500,000 hogs are driven into the city, and are slaughtered at the rate of 20,000 in a day. The pork is pickled, packed in barrels, and shipped away by the merchants to New Orleans, to be consumed upon the plantations.

There is a trade of almost incredible extent in the manufacture of household furniture. According to a report of the Chamber of Commerce, for the year 1856, there were sixty-seven establishments engaged in this branch; and the value of the furniture manufactured was 3,356,000

dollars, or £671,200 sterling. There are nine of these concerns which are upon a more extensive scale than the rest, each of them employing from 200 to 350 hands. We visited several of these manufactories, and were surprised to observe the systematic character of their varied operations. One proprietor was making chairs at the rate of 4,000 to 5,000 per week, and at prices varying from 1s. 8d. to 13s. 4d. each. Another was making bedsteads at the rate of 1,000 per week, and at prices as low as 6s. or as high as £12 each. The component parts of these articles were of turned work, made to one uniform gauge to screw into one another, and in all respects so handy to deal with, that when warehoused the stock might be disposed of in large quantities, carried to remote places; and so accurately joined as to fit into each other without constraint.

The commercial report proceeds to remark the growing importance of this trade in supplying the demands of hotels, steamboats, and families of emigrants who are constantly proceeding towards the states of the west. The value to the city of this branch of business, may be computed from the fact that the raw material is a home product; that its value is immensely increased by labour, the timber or raw material being described as lumber, and worth only from 1½ to 3 dollars per 100 cubic feet.

Coach making was also an extensive business; and we saw an assortment of elegant and expensive vehicles, and hundreds of useful and well-contrived conveyances of every imaginable shape to comprise utility and comfort in travelling through such a country. One proprietor stated that his annual returns were from £30,000 to £40,000, a

sum which probably exceeds that of the great bulk of coachmakers, even in London.

We have remarked upon the carelessness of servants, and the frequency of destructive fires in all the cities of the United States. The fire engine department is one in which a considerable amount of interest is felt; and in Cincinnatti they had an extinguishing apparatus, with a locomotive steam engine attached to it for working the pumps, and so easy of application that it could be fitted up and set to work in eight minutes.

SLAVERY.

In this state, the State of Ohio, we have passed the northern boundaries of the slave states of Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland. The states are situated betwixt 37 and 40 degrees north latitude, consequently too far north for the cultivation of cotton. They are very fertile, and possess a climate which is salubrious, and well adapted to the personal comfort of the white man. They are nevertheless slave states, and it is probable that in the infancy of their growth and settlement, recourse has been had to slave labour, in order to bring out cultivation with the utmost rapidity.

It is universally admitted that for the mere purposes of husbandry the negro race is not needed; and the continued existence of slavery in these states is accounted for, not by reason of the cheapness of slave labour, for slave labour is not cheap labour, but by the advantage to be derived from sale of the offspring of slaves to the planters of the south. This practice is very justly held in abhorrence, especially by the citizens of those states

which have liberated their own slaves. On this account it did not occasion any surprise to us that a feeling of restless impatience and remonstrance was very prevalent in Cincinnatti. This was not carried to the extent of a "border feud;" the chagrin expends itself in another way, by the game of intrigue with the slaves, leading to their clandestine escape and conveyance to Canada.

It was not long before we became introduced to a *character* in this way, a member of the Society of Friends, one who might very allowably be identified as the "Simeon Halliday" or the "Phineas Fletcher," who figure amongst the heroes of Mrs. Stowe. This man had become widely known for his indomitable energy in the cause of negro freedom, as well as for his skill in effecting his object; so much so as to have acquired the soubriquet of "The President of the Underground Railway." He had frequently got into trouble for his unlawful proceedings in this way; and his expertness in extricating himself from a difficulty was rather amusing. He had been apprehended and brought into court upon charge of having aided in the escape of some negro slaves. The case against him was strong, but not positive; and one of the magistrates attempted to gain an admission by assuming a peremptory demeanour towards him. He at once made the admission that the negroes themselves had told him that they were slaves, but that *no other person* had told him so; and, in his own quaint and characteristic manner, proceeded to remind this indiscreet justice of the peace that according to law the evidence of the negro race was *not received even upon oath;* therefore, having no authority but theirs, he had not felt called upon to give credit to

what they had said, and had felt no indisposition to comply with what they had wanted him to do. Having made this statement, he thought it would be quite as convenient, and quite as consistent with the province of the court, if they would allow the case to be proved from the other side, and not by seeking admissions from him. This they failed to do, and the charge was dropped.

FIFTH LECTURE.

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From Cincinnatti to Chicago the distance by railway is about 300 miles, passing through the states of Ohio and Indiana. In the western part of Indiana we entered upon a prairie country, very thinly inhabited; but we could perceive that since the opening of the railway there had been erected many little dwellings and homesteads of settlers, surrounded by small plots of newly-enclosed land; and an abundance of unoccupied ground was lying in readiness to receive a succession of emigrant settlers whenever they might arrive.

CHICAGO.

Any attempt to describe this wonderful growth of a city, would be incomplete if it did not also comprise some account of the unpropitious character of its origin, and its subsequent progress, in little over twenty years, from a village of wooden shanties, to a splendid city of 110,000 inhabitants. It is situated upon a river on the south-western shore of Lake Michigan, having in its foreground a level plain of many hundreds of miles, stretching along the prairies of Illinois, and upon a well-selected site, as the great trading metropolis of the west. A variety of concurrent circumstances have favoured the creation of such a city, mainly arising out of these immeasureable

prairie lands, brimful of fertility, and commercially tributary to Chicago as the outlet. The requisite facilities for trade have been afforded by the confluence of the river and the lake; but to these have since been added canal navigation and railways, to meet the urgent requirings of commerce. A largely-increased demand for grain, especially for the supply of the English market, has doubtless contributed an untold amount of prosperity to Chicago, and to the whole of that country. When we compare the growth of this modern city with that of the cities of the old world, what shall be the measure of our astonishment? The cities of ancient date have required centuries to establish them, and centuries following of enlargement, before they attained the proportions or the eminence of this, which is scarcely a quarter of a century old. Referring also to modern times, the progress of European cities is slow; and favoured as our own country has been for the advancement of mercantile ports, the progress of Fleetwood or Grimsby is utterly insignificant in comparison with Chicago. The history of this place no one has taken the trouble to write; therefore any historical account which we present, must be received as scattered reminiscences collected from loose accounts and traffic returns.

Beginning with the year 1804, the government of the United States erected a fort for the occupation of this locality against the Red Indians. For nearly twenty years following, the only white man besides the military who made any approach to this settlement, was Mr. John Kinzie, who availed himself of the fort as a trading point for the purchase of furs and skins from the surrounding tribes of Indians.

Up to a period as recent as the year 1812, the whole of the Illinois country lying beyond the state of Ohio was entirely in possession of the Indians. At length five dwellings were erected outside the fort; and the Indians became so indignant at this encroachment, that they fell upon the place with great fury, destroyed the fort, massacred the soldiers and other inhabitants, sparing only their trading friend, John Kinzie, and his family. Although the fort was re-established, the extension of the settlement was held in check by the dread of the Indians; and up to the year 1831 there were only twelve families, besides the soldiers, who had ventured to occupy the place. An impression of increased security began to prevail, and a walking post was established. A half-breed Indian was despatched once-a-week to Niles, in Michigan, where he collected either verbal accounts of news, or newspapers, whether new or old; and his return at the week's end was an event of no common interest to the inhabitants.

The following year, 1832, the Indians again assembled in great numbers, committing great outrage and murder; and at length it was found necessary to bring about by treaty a right of occupation, whereby the Indians agreed to relinquish all their territorial claims as far westward as Iowa, and engaged that themselves, and all that they had, should be removed out of the country to the western side of the river Mississippi. During the next year, 1833, no less than 7,000 Indians presented themselves in Chicago; and forty-six teams of oxen were engaged in conveying the last remnant of them upon a journey of forty days, to that land of promise which had been bargained for and allotted to them.

During the following year, 1834, there was a considerable increase of vitality in Chicago. A grant of £5,000 was allowed by Congress for the erection of a harbour for shipping; and a one-horse mail was substituted for the walking post. But the peaceful occupation of the city was again to be disturbed. The Red Indians they had bargained off and conveyed away; but the denizens of the forest they had not yet dealt with, and the marauding habits of the bear and the wolf they could no longer endure. The forests immediately adjoining the city were the resort of large numbers of these ravenous beasts; and from stealthy visits in the night they advanced to a description of freedom which could no longer be tolerated. The inhabitants, as lords of the creation, were determined to assert their own dignity; they formed themselves into hunting parties, and succeeded in destroying no less than forty of these savage animals. This may seem a singular event in the annals of a city; but in passing betwixt Jackson and Market-street, we were amused to hear that this had been the site of the last struggle with one of the large bears.

The birth of Miss Ellen Hamilton took place in the year 1832, and this young lady, now 24 years of age, is the oldest native inhabitant. The public census was first taken in the year 1835, the population was 3,265; in 1840, 4,470; 1845, 12,888; 1850, 28,269; 1855, 83,509; 1856, 110,000.

During the season of 1856, the number of vessels and steamers arriving at the port, had been 7,328; the tonnage was 1,545,379 tons; and the number of men employed in their navigation, was 65,532. Up to the year 1836,

the provisions required for domestic consumption were imported; three years afterwards they had a surplus; and in the course of eleven years their annual exports had become increased in value from eleven thousand to eleven millions of dollars.

The grain trade is by far the largest branch of commerce; and although this is only the eighteenth year since its commencement. Chicago has become the largest primary grain port in the world, having in the last year (1856) exported 8,337,420 bushels of wheat; 11,129,668 bushels of Indian corn; 1,034,188 bushels of oats, rye, and barley; being a total of 21,583,221 bushels of grain exported.

The hog trade is rapidly advancing, and the returns for the year of live and dressed hogs amounted to 308,539. An immense trade is carried on in timber, usually termed "lumber:" the returns for 1856 are 456,673,169 feet of boards, 79,235,120 shingles, and 135,876,000 laths. Of wool, 1,853,920 lbs. weight.

RAILWAYS.

Half-a-dozen years ago, Chicago had only a single railroad of twenty miles long entering the city. Now (1856) there are thirteen railroads centre here, and 100 trains of passenger cars arriving and departing daily. The fifth annual report (1856) of the trades of the city, enumerates thirty descriptions of trades and manufactures giving employment to 10,000 hands; the most important being those connected with agricultural implements. We visited the extensive works of Mr. McCormick, whose principal business is the manufacture of reaping and mowing machines. He informed us that the demand is so

extensive, that he had himself sent out 1,500 of these machines last year, and expected to sell 3,000 this year.

We have already indicated in what manner Chicago has been raised; and let us not overlook the continued and bustling operations of its thriving progress. The wood buildings in the central parts of the city are disappearing, to make way for the erection of houses, shops, and warehouses, chiefly of marble. The magnitude and architectural appearance of many of these, would vie with the stately modern erections of Manchester. The wooden houses of the original city were being carried away to be replaced in the suburbs; and occasionally we had the singular pleasure of meeting a dwelling-house travelling along the streets. It might be inhabited or uninhabited, but it was evidently being hurried away, and perhaps into some adjoining and less populous parish. We were much amused to observe the advantage which was being taken by the people, to convert a locomotive dwelling into an advertising van, and have it plastered over with all sorts of placards. Churches and schools were provided in great numbers. The streets were neglected; indeed they appeared not to have been formed, except by a covering of planks, which had now become loose, uneven, and dangerous. It was said that large fortunes had been made, and with great rapidity; but this remark was accompanied with animadversions upon the slippery mercantile practices of the place.

PRAIRIE COUNTRY.

The prairies, so long neglected, have in recent times disclosed an unexpected amount of fertility. The early

settlers in the United States adhered to an impression that the growth of large trees was an acknowledged test of good land; and spent perhaps half their lives in hewing down big trees, in order to clear the ground and prepare it for grain crops. The supposed infertility of the prairies has been a mistake, and their extent is almost incalculable. The surface is quite level, covered with long coarse grass, and without either tree or shrub. The railway proprietors, in advertising the land sales, assert that the crop of a single year has amounted to the first cost of the land. At all events, the natural resources of the prairies of Illinois are so enormous, that they contribute to render that state one of the most important in the Union. The absence of timber as well as stone is inconvenient to the settlers, on account of the absolute necessity for field fences, farm buildings, and dwelling-houses. This necessity will serve in some extent to explain the amazing amount of trade in "lumber" which is being carried on betwixt Chicago and the Northern Lakes. These lakes are numerous; and in describing their magnitude, we were assured that one of them would be large enough to receive e territorial extent of Old England, and leave plenty of room to sail round her as an island. The navigation of these lakes affords easy access to those immense forests which supply the vast shipments of lumber so much required in Illinois.

The people of Chicago are ever ready to accommodate the wants of the emigrant, and to enable him to determine upon the desirability of some plot of land, to complete his purchase, and to proceed with the requisite arrangements for immediate occupation. A contractor in the lumber

trade will propose to supply him with farm premises. They have always on hand either ready-made houses or drawings of them, and any number of doors and windows ready for use. In this manner wood-framed houses may be supplied to any approved pattern, at any price from £40 to £200 each, with the requisite outbuildings; and the same may be erected for permanent occupation in less than one month. The articles of furniture which have been supplied from Cincinnatti, will present their various attractions; and in a very few weeks the emigrant may become a landed proprietor and a citizen, having his family located, his team of bullocks at the plough; and in less than a year his grain crops may have been raised, and shipped away from Chicago. In illustration of the growth of industry upon the prairies, we may refer to a letter addressed to the "Illustrated London News," from Fairbury, Illinois, and headed

"Growth of a Village in the Far West.—Last November, there was but one house here; now there are 40 dwellings, 7 stores, 3 warehouses, a church, a school-house, a railway depot, a steam mill, and other buildings, all erected within eleven months."

Another instance of progress is related by a correspondent of the "Chicago Tribune," who says—

"Being in Rock County, Illinois, one day last week (about the middle of August), I went to the top of a hill called Mount Zion, six miles from Janesville, and counted on the surrounding plain 150 four-horse power reaping machines, busily cutting down wheat. There were 1,000 men, women, and boys following, binding and shocking up the golden sheaves. It was a sight worth seeing, to behold the grain falling and being gathered up at the rate of 200 acres an hour."

Mr. Caird, M.P., in his "Notes on the Prairies," states that "England and Illinois are nearly equal in size; that

Illinois is an undulating open plain; that some of the corn fields are of uncommon magnitude; one vast sweep which he saw of 2,200 acres was all in new-sown wheat: and that most of the towns are not four years old, and are growing rapidly." We heard it computed there would be at least 50,000 square miles of territory now lying within command of Chicago as an outlet; that at present only one-sixth of it was under cultivation; and that a still greater extent of unexplored wilderness was lying more remotely westward.

Leaving Chicago, we came eastward 350 miles to the city of Cleveland, upon the southern bank of Lake Erie. The lake presented a ruffled surface, and large waves were dashing against the headlands of an abrupt coast. The town residences reminded us of our pleasure-taking marine resorts in the South of England. The severity of the weather deterred us from proceeding in the direction of Niagara and Canada; and therefore we preferred to make a tour of a few weeks towards the more genial south.

Pittsburg is usually denominated the Birmingham of the United States; but such a comparison is an exaggeration pardonable only in America. It is a smoky, dirty-looking city, of 110,000 inhabitants, situated upon the Ohio river, amongst the hills. The mines of iron and coal which abound in the vicinity, have given rise to a considerable extent of enterprise and commerce. Parts of the adjacent suburbs have been named Birmingham and Manchester; and in these places the iron and glass works are mostly situated. The coal formation is immediately above the river. The mines are wrought by means of tunnels, and the coal conveyed by tramway to the barges,

and floated down the Ohio to all the cities upon its banks, and throughout all the branches of the Mississippi as far as navigable. According to the published returns of the previous week, the deliveries of coals had been 500,000 bushels, or 16,000 tons; the selling price was 5s. per ton. The engineering works which we had heard described in such exaggerated terms, were disappointing to us. We did not find the outward appearance of any large capital embarked, such as we see in our engineering towns in England. The pretensions of Pittsburg as a marvellous embodiment of skill in mechanical pursuits, had been reported to us in the "free and easy" style which so often prevails. A traveller, at the hotel in Cleveland, who was desirous to fix our attention upon a manufactory at Pittsburg, described it as comprising every element of skill in metals; and assured us, very impressively, that we should in this concern find the manufacture of everything in metal, "from the spittoon lying at our feet, to the movements of the watch in our pocket." Having hastened our visit to these notable works, we found that the place ought more properly to have been described as the workshop of a locksmith. They were making locks at the rate of 5,000 a-week, and at prices varying from 6d. to 12s. each.

The manufacture of wine decanters, and moulded and figured work in glass, appeared to be well managed; but the manufacture of window glass did not look promising, and the attempt to make plate glass had not succeeded.

EMIGRANTS FROM LANCASHIRE.

We descended the Ohio by steamer to Wheeling, and from thence we visited a number of emigrant farmers, who

had left Lancashire about thirty years ago. They had cleared away the trees, the stumps still remaining in the ground; their land was well fenced, and under culture like an old settlement; but it was wearing out, and they spoke of going westward.

The village of St. Clairsville through which we had to pass, contains about 500 inhabitants, and the locality appeared to sustain two publications of newspapers. In all the little affairs of these people, there were evidences of comfort and thrift. Their clothing and furniture appeared homely. Their animal food was not fresh killed, but such as they had salted or pickled. Their Indian corn served them in a variety of ways, and they seemed to consider it a most valuable article of food. Their sugar and molasses were of their own manufacture, from the saccharine juice of the sugar maple. One of the farmers stated that his land would yield as much as 22 bushels of wheat, or 50 bushels of Indian corn to the acre; but another one estimated the average at 10 or 12 bushels of wheat, and remarked that they did not suffer so much from poor markets as from having very little grain to sell. Manuring for wheat crops is done every five years: and the current price of land is £8 per acre. We did not hear that any of the settlers had realised more than £1,000; and it was supposed that there was not any individual in the county possessed of more than £10,000. From these accounts it is evident that when they spoke so boastingly of raising a wheat crop from the same land for five years in succession, the whole quantity so raised in the five years would not be equal to two crops upon the well-cultivated land of this country.

ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS.

The day following we crossed the Alleghany mountains, on our route to the south. This very notable mountain range extends from north to south, nearly 1,000 miles, and rises to the height of about 3,000 feet. The gradients of the railway appeared easy, and the windings disclosed a great deal of bold and precipitous scenery. In the highest altitudes there were groves of pine, hemlock, spruce, and other forest trees, as well as indigenous flowering shrubs and plants, such as the azelias, rhododendrons, laurels, &c., in great luxuriance. Rising above the foot of the mountains we observed a great many little patches of forest land, recently cleared by a poor, miserable-looking class of cottier holders. Every one appeared to have been the architect, and the builder too, of his log cabin, formed of the trunks of trees lying one upon another in the round state, the ends having been notched with the hatchet, and juggled together at the corners of the building. The spaces or crevices formed by the round sides of the trees were filled up with earth or clay, and wattled smooth upon the surface: we seldom saw a window or a chimney, and a low doorway would be the only opening. The gypsy-looking women, with their children, would be outside, engaged in washing or cooking, having a boiling pot suspended over a crackling fire of pine logs. The presence of a cow and one or two heifers, with perhaps a donkey or a horse, would represent the farming stock of one of these, the most miserable-looking citizens we ever saw in the United States. Descending the eastern side of the mountain, we glided alongside of

precipices and over many deep ravines, with mountain torrents looking very frightful, until at length we got down amongst the sunny slopes and the orchards whitened with the fruitage blossom of the spring.

Having travelled upwards of 300 miles, we rested for the night at that very interesting place, Harper's Ferry. It is situated in a most picturesque spot in the state of Maryland, at the junction of the river Shenandoan with the Potomac, and betwixt two precipitous ridges of hills. The wild beauty of the scenery was unsurpassed by any we saw, and the place itself is well known for the extensive government manufactory of fire-arms. The operations of these works were interesting, principally from their having introduced the newly-invented machinery for forging, preparing, and fitting up the several parts of the military musket. The most ingenious application of machinery in use, was that of Mr. Blanchard's invention, employed in the gun-stocking department. The rude form of a stock was placed in a lathe, over against a revolving shaper of the required form, and this became the guide of the cutting tool: a continued succession of mechanical contrivances completed the work, so that in the course of twenty-two minutes the various parts could be brought into their places, and united together as an entire musket.

Notwithstanding our affectation of reluctance to adopt Americanisms, we were informed that our government had made purchase of this machinery from the inventor, for the armoury at Enfield. The American superintendent, speaking of the relative merits of the English and American workmen, remarked that he liked his own countrymen

most, because they possessed intelligence, and had higher aims: that the Enfield men could do their work well enough, but they were low-bred, and just filled up their time betwixt the workshop and the beershop.

Having reached a warmer atmosphere, we felt inclined to luxuriate, and indulge in social intercourse with friends in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, before we again made approach to the north. Our visit extended over a considerable portion of the New England states; but our observations were principally directed to the state of Massachusetts, which is accounted the most wealthy and prosperous of any in the Union. Within this state are situated the eminent mercantile city of Boston, the manufacturing city of Lowell, together with the towns of Lawrence, Manchester, Holyoke, and many other thriving places, of great population and industry. It may also be added, that the indications of British origin appeared more marked in this than in any other state we visited.

PILGRIM FATHERS.

As a leading characteristic of this state, it would be deemed unpardonable not to refer to the remarkable historical events in the career of the "Pilgrim Fathers," who first founded it. Those who are familiar with our English history, will be aware that in the early part of the 17th century, the dominant portion of the religious community were in a state of angry excitement, and the Nonconformists were groaning under oppression and persecution. The exercise of despotic power over the minds of men, appeared to be the order of the day, and disobedience to the authority of a state religion was deemed disaffection. The

spirit of the age appeared to insist that the combined authority of Church and State were entitled to exercise dominion over the souls as well as the bodies of men; and the king required of them an entire submission of their reason and conscience. The assumption of such authority was an outrage for British freemen to endure; and a conflict of the fiercest character arose betwixt those who feared no authority but God alone, and the pretensions of royal and clerical authority. Amidst a series of changes, the ecclesiastical opinions which at length had been adopted by the bishops, must needs be enforced upon all other persons; and those who chose to dissent, might be said to have been deliberately hunted down. Their books were seized and publicly burnt; themselves imprisoned by thousands; and many pious, inoffensive Christian people endured as martyrs the extreme penalties of the law.

Some of the leaders of the body of English Independents made their escape into Holland; but, owing to their feelings being so intensely English, they became unhappy, and disliked the idea of allowing their families to intermarry, and thus become Dutch. In this dilemma they agreed that some portion of them should sail for America, and prepare a way for the others to follow in succession; and with this view they obtained a document, securing to themselves, as emigrants, liberty of worship in that colony.

It was upon the 5th of August, in the year 1620, that about 120 of them embarked at Southampton, in that notable barque, the *Mayflower;* but, owing to delays in their progress, it was the 6th of September before they got clear from Plymouth. After having been at sea nine

weeks, they made discovery of land, and found that it was inhabited by tribes of Indian hunters. One of the pilgrim party whilst roaming about, was ensnared in a trap which the Indians had laid for the capture of deer. He had observed that the point of a young tree had been bent to the ground, and in making his approach to discover the device, the point suddenly sprung from its fastening, tucked him up by the heel, and held his body suspended in the air. Of course his friends lost no time in having him extricated from his perilous position; but it may easily be supposed that such an incident could hardly occur without affording some amusement even to so grave a company.

From a place so unpromising they very soon withdrew, re-entered the ship, and continued to move about on the coast until the 11th December, when they discovered a more tempting spot, one which they adopted as a settlement, and gave to it the name of New Plymouth, in grateful memory of the port from which they had set sail from Old England. On their arrival, nearly the whole of them were suffering from fevers, coughs, and general sickness, and a considerable number were too far prostrated ever to recover. Indeed, the inroad of disease amongst the party became so severe, that before winter was over there remained only 50 of the 101 settlers; and such was the prevailing debility, that at one time they had only seven persons who were competent to the burial of the dead. So large a number of victims from disease, must have been deeply prostrating to the spirits of the survivors; but there were other troubles in store which also proved very disheartening. Their supplies of food

became so scanty, that for six months they had to subsist upon half rations; and even during the third year, their destitution was so severe, that at one time they dealt out their last pint of corn at the rate of five grains a man. This appears to have been the last extremity of their personal sufferings.

They then discovered that their distress had arisen from the adoption of a policy which had proved far more amiable than wise, namely, the social or common property system; and when they had ascertained that the effect had been to protract their sufferings, they abandoned this arrangement of mutual interests, and adopted the more solid foundation of individual property. They very soon found that a stimulus had been given to the general activity and contentment of the people, and in a very short time they were raising a surplus of corn as an article of merchandise.

As a community of settlers, they found it necessary to effect a treaty with the Indian tribes, and having attained full possession of the province, they proceeded to establish a form of government which should be popular, and in all respects becoming the champions of freedom.

The elements of character, and the mission of those sturdy "Pilgrim Fathers," will ever be honoured: they had become willing exiles from their native land in order that they might themselves enjoy, and afterwards bequeath to their descendants, the inestimable treasure of Christian liberty.

Passing from the other chequered events which attended their course, before the success of their original design had become permanently established, we may re-

mark upon the weakness which afterwards betrayed them into error. Finding themselves, as they supposed, securely invested with an array of political power, which rendered their authority absolute, they very unguardedly forgot themselves, and allowed the attachment they had for their own form of religion, to outweigh the affection they had previously professed for the sacred cause of Christian liberty.

Twenty-five years had scarcely passed over their heads before the impressive lamentations of their fathers over the persecutions they had suffered from the English bishops had not only been forgotten, but they had fallen into the like example, and in an evil hour had themselves become the persecutors of others. No doubt that in the first formation of their laws they aimed at social equality; they strove to direct the energies and purify the morals of the people; they wisely avoided the errors of the feudal or aristocratic system, and the primogeniture laws of the mother country; but how often are we reminded, that "to err is human." And, despite the knowledge they possessed, they were unable to resist the desire to "lord it" over the consciences of other men. They enacted a law to establish uniformity of religious belief, and thus at once adopted the intolerant and persecuting spirit which had driven them into exile.

In like manner they undertook, in the authority of their own law, the seizure and burning of obnoxious books; then, step by step, they proceeded to the infliction of torture, and the maiming of the person of offenders; thence followed imprisonment, and at length their atrocities reached the department of the gallows, just as the Eng-

lish had dealt with their fathers at Tyburn. Unhappily, the memorial of this guilt does not admit the plea of ignorance. They must have been familiar with the ill-success of every attempt to enforce belief, from the example of Nebuchadnezzar down to the recent case of their own predecessors. Fortunately, however, this pilgrim community had not yet become their own masters; they were colonists under the British crown, and the brutality of their proceedings received the salutary check of a *mandamus* from Charles II. They were then enabled to perceive, as in a mirror, the outrage they had inflicted upon that high and holy cause which had been intrusted into their hands to exalt and establish: persecution was abolished, and the spirit of enlightened freedom which animated that little cargo of fugitives in the *Mayflower*, has since enlarged her proportions and founded her empire in New England.

Passing onwards, there is the evidence of material progress on every hand. No one visiting Massachusetts can fail to observe the incalculable advantages which have accrued from such indomitable people. In no other part of the United States did we find education so universal, or the social and intellectual condition of the people so manifestly progressive,—where devotedness to industry was so marked,—where inventive genius was so prevalent, —or where the spirit of manufacturing and commercial enterprise was existing in such healthy activity. Amongst the native inhabitants we did not hear of a single case of downright ignorance, nor of the alloy of pauperism: indeed, it would seem that there is not in any other part of the world a country in which the elements of human hap-

piness are more amply diffused amongst all classes of the people.

BOSTON.

The mercantile city of Boston is not formed in straight lines of streets, as most of the other cities of the Union; and in this respect it resembles an English city. There was architectural taste displayed, but this was not so striking as to require special notice. We may record our visit to the very plain monumental erection over the tomb of Franklin; and this was the only instance in which we remember to have met with any public recognition of that very eminent character. The mercantile reputation of the city is known in every country. The inhabitants have been described as quiescent and persevering. The suburbs, although not situated in the most fertile country we had seen, presented a good deal of varied natural beauty; and in the course of a morning's drive afforded agreeable interest. In the vicinity of Brookline, Cambridge, Dorchester, and other surrounding places, there was a highly-creditable array of mansions, villas, and other genteel residences. The cemetery of Mount Auburn is of great extent, the surface undulated, the landscape adorned with trees and shrubs; the character of the design, the inclosures around family vaults, and the monuments, altogether afford the evidence of a commendable taste and feeling. We passed the residence of the poet Longfellow; and in the distance we observed the monument on Bunker's Hill, which reminded us of the struggle for independence, and the historical associations of 1775.

Within this state have been originated many ingenious inventions of great importance to the world at large; and

the seats of manufacture which are diffused throughout the country, attest the existence of a vast extent of capital and industry. To enumerate these inventions, and to offer any remarks upon more than a few of them, would be beyond the limits of a lecture. The card-making machine for the manufacture of mill cards for wool, cotton, and silk, was the discovery of a citizen of Boston, and is now used almost universally. The sewing machine was also from this state; and referring to the "Song of the Shirt," and the lamentable condition of the sempstress, we may rejoice that more than one hundred of these machines are now being employed by one house in London; that 900 of them are already at work in Glasgow; and that their introduction into the trade of shoemaking is creating something like a revolution amongst the hands engaged in that sedentary and unwholesome employment.

The invention before noticed for the manufacture of fire-arms, is also from Springfield, in this state. Indeed, it would be impossible to enumerate all the mechanical inventions received from the United States. We may, however, proceed to notice the manifold printing press, which has afforded such important aid in the success of cheap newspapers and other publications. The machine which Mr. Platt, of Oldham, has recently received, for the manufacture of bricks; the washing machine, and the revolver, are also American: and let us not forget the horse tamer. Referring to the examples of manufacturing industry, the following may serve to indicate the character of their progress.

The premises of the New England Screw Company, Providence, Rhode Island, are extensive, and well-arranged

for the manufacture of screws, principally those required for carpenters' work. The invention is one of great merit, and the machine performs a variety of operations of considerable delicacy. The wire, when properly annealed, is cut into the requisite lengths, and proceeds from one machine to another; first to form and nick the head, then to turn and worm the shank, and lastly to give the screw the advantage of a gimlet point.

Mr. Henry Burden, of Troy, a native of Dumblane, in Scotland, has invented a machine for the manufacture of horse-shoes, at the rate of sixty per minute; whilst in the ordinary process two men can forge only sixty per day.

MANUFACTURES OF COTTON, WOOLLEN, ETC.

Massachusetts is pre-eminent for its mill manufactures. In this state there are streams of water too shallow for navigation, which have been converted into mill streams, and a great number of manufacturing establishments have been erected upon them;—the largest of these being at Lowell, and at Lawrence, on the Merrimack river. The latter place was the one we first visited; and from the elevated ground of our approach, it was almost astounding to discover at one view large factories extending nearly a mile, alongside a broad river, and behind these nearly a square mile of ground, covered with dwelling-houses, shops, and all the other requirements for a population of 17,000 inhabitants, most of whom had been attracted thither during the ten years of the growth of the mills. We found that these mills were employed in the various processes of spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing, and printing of cotton. Those to which our attention was more

immediately directed, were the mills of "The Atlantic Company." They have four large water wheels of 1,750 horses power; their machinery consisted of 80,000 spindles (mule and throstle), and 1,400 power looms. This company manufactures about 1,000 bales of cotton per month, affording employment to 1,100 workpeople, the proportions being 350 males, and 750 females. The young "hands" are received at twelve years of age, and attend at school one quarter of each year until the age of fifteen. The hours of working are eleven per day, or 66 for the week, as they allow no indulgence for Saturdays. Notwithstanding the completeness of these works, the shares of this company were selling at a discount of 40 per cent.

The mills of "The Pacific Company" were also engaged in cotton manufactures; but in addition to the departments for spinning and weaving, they had also other works for bleaching and calico printing. The extent of their machinery was not complete in every department; but the magnitude of the works may be estimated from the presence of no less than thirty-two steam boilers at work, all under one roof. Their bleaching was upon the recently-improved process of the bleachers of Lancashire. In one room we saw twelve printing machines; some of them were working upon seven or eight colours, and every machine was turned by its own little steam engine. The printing room was very commodious and well-lighted; the machines were arranged in a very systematic manner; and two-thirds of the workmen were English. In connection with these works, the proprietors have appropriated a large building for popular entertainments. The public room will accommodate one thousand persons; and during

the previous winter, six concerts had been held, and seven lectures delivered. The discount upon the shares of this company, was 75 per cent.

In all parts of the country we found public schools; and in those of the Lawrence Mills there were present as many as 600 children and young persons, some of whom were more than twenty years of age. We had the curiosity to test the pursuits of the scholars, by requesting those to stand up whose families belonged to the factory; and we found that they amounted to one-half.

The greatest portion of the factory workers were females from distant parts of the country, and as they had to be provided with lodgings, the proprietors have public lodging-houses erected for their accommodation. The one which we visited was under the presiding authority of a matron, who showed us through the house, and informed us that she was able to provide for sixty "young ladies." The drawing room was respectably—not to say genteelly furnished: we noticed the marble chimney pieces, the carpeted floor, large mirrors, the piano, music books, and the various little work tables, and other appurtenances, intended to contribute to the enjoyment of the inmates. Entering the dining room, we found that three tables had been spread for the dinner: the table service was plain, and complete in every respect. The cooking range and other apparatus for the kitchen, was very commodious; joints of meat were roasting, and an abundance of other food was being prepared for the table. The lodging rooms have two plain bedsteads, such as those made at Cincinnatti; also dressing glass, toilet, and wardrobe.

We noticed that books, magazines, and other periodi-

cals, were lying about; and altogether there seemed an air of comfort and cleanliness, such as might indicate that every department was well ordered. These factory girls —as in this country we are accustomed to designate them, or the "young ladies," under American definition—are mostly the daughters of small farmers, traders, or labourers, from distant parts of the country, whose services are not required in their own families. Every one of these would be unwilling to enter into other families as domestic servants, but they are glad to avail themselves of employment in the factories, in order that they may realise a few dollars of money savings before they marry. They can all read and write; and in the evenings they employ themselves in needlework or in reading; and at ten o'clock the door is closed for the night.

LOWELL.

Lowell has taken the lead as a factory city. The vigour of its early career was derived from the war of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, when the importation of all kinds of fabrics was closed. Public attention was at that time directed to the encouragement of manufactures; fiscal duties and other regulations, by way of bounty, were enacted by Congress; and in a very short time the Merrimack river was dammed up by weirs, and converted into a propeller of machinery. At that time Lowell took a start of activity, and in 1826 was incorporated as a town. From that period its prosperity became more fully established; and in 1854 the population had reached 37,000. The available waterfall of 33 feet in height, with a supply of 36,000 cubic feet of water per second of time,

being, according to the usual calculation of engineers, nearly 9,000 horses power, is now fully occupied; and no fewer than twelve great manufacturing corporations had risen into existence, having in operation fifty factories, mostly employed upon cotton, possessing 400,000 spindles, 12,000 power looms, and representing a capital of betwixt two and three millions sterling.

There is ample evidence that mental activity has kept pace with industrial progress; as upwards of forty public journals have been started. Several of these have gone down; but the journal most extensively known, is the "Lowell Offering," a monthly periodical published from the year 1840 to 1845, and devoted mainly to the effusions of the young ladies employed in the mills. The principal mover was Miss Harriet Farley, an operative, and the daughter of a clergyman at Amesbury. Many of the essays evinced respectable talent and correct taste, and some of them have since been collected and published in a volume entitled "Mind among the Spindles." There are now published in Lowell, three daily and five weekly newspapers of considerable circulation. In regard to the mechanical construction and the other arrangements of the mills of Lowell, they resemble those we have already described. The machinery was well made, and the machine makers, whose works we saw, were not only keeping pace with every improvement effected in England, but themselves were possessed of great inventive genius, and appeared ever on the stretch to excel in new discoveries. The command of water power derived from the Merrimack having now become exhausted by the mills already in existence, the pressure for an increase of power has in-

duced some of the proprietors to adopt the turbine in place of the bucket water wheel. The turbine wheel is based upon the model of the "Barker's Mill," which is the most ancient appliance of water, and by dint of modern mechanism it has been made to yield more power from the same supply of water than the bucket wheel will give.

The consumption of cotton by the manufacturers of the United States has continued to enlarge, and has now reached about one-third of the consumption of this country. The enjoyment of a protective policy, together with charges upon imports, affords to the American manufacturer a large gain in addition to his profit on the manufacture; and we were informed by the parties themselves, that during the last twenty years their profits had been enormous. But we were also informed that it would be a mistake to suppose that they had been fortunate in money making; that they had to incur very heavy expenses in conducting their concerns; and the advantages to the proprietary, as measured by the protection they enjoyed, were by no means realised. Their ill-success in this respect may require to be accounted for. The proprietor of a factory in this country resides near the spot, undertakes the discharge of his own duties as an employer, conducts his own marketing, and feels himself the master of his position as a capitalist. In the case of a Joint-Stock Company in the United States, this is utterly impracticable. The generality of these companies are got up in New York or Boston by some agent, who expects to be intrusted with the conducting of the business. Thus the proprietors enter the scheme knowing that they shall be charged with commissions upon every article bought or

sold; also with heavy expenses attendant upon the system of long credits, and bill transactions.

Having heard of the celebrity of Lowell, we observed with great interest every feature in relation to the operative class. In the streets, we saw nothing like abject poverty, nor any indication of rude or coarse behaviour; but, on the contrary, the evidence of an orderly, intelligent people, sober, sedate, and persevering. The most pleasing feature was the superiority of the young females. Being chiefly from the country, they were mostly well grown, and in personal appearance superior to the generality of other females in the United States; and in their demeanour they manifested a degree of self-respect very much in advance of any similar class we have seen in this country. The cultivation of refinement amongst them is studiously promoted by the proprietors. They are provided with dressing apartments adjoining the spinning rooms, having all the requisite accommodations for washing, and for changing their dress. Traits of character deserving of admiration were frequently communicated to us; that amongst the thousands of New England females leaving their rural homes, and entering the mills, great numbers of them have by their frugality acquired ample means to assist their parents, elevate their families, and endow with money savings the homes of their husbands, when married.

SIXTH LECTURE.

Throughout our visit to the New England States, everything we met with was looking so very English, and we became so familiar with the people, that at length it was needful to become aroused to the pursuit of our next object of interest. Having reached Utica, we concluded to make a detour to the Trenton Falls, as a minor sight preparatory to the grandeur of the Falls of Niagara. They are approached through a deep ravine, under the sloping sides of a forest; and the places appointed for observation are mostly difficult of access. There is a considerable volume of water precipitated over a rocky bed of the river, forming a variety of beautiful cascades; and the effect is rendered very picturesque by the scenery of the surrounding woods. We noticed how utterly valueless the timber appeared; we saw immense trees lying where they had fallen, in a state of decay; whilst abundance of young ones were starting up to fill their places. The day following, as we passed along by railway, we were amused to observe how very many little modern towns were honoured with names of antiquity, such as Palmyra, Syracuse, Rome, and other cities of the old world. In Canada there was none of this pretension; on the contrary, the Canadian people have contented themselves with the original, and often more sonorous Indian names, such as that of Toronto. At length we approached

the great wonder of creation; and at the stopping stations were impatient to hear the first sound of the cataract. Whilst crossing the stupendous iron bridge over the Niagara river, we got a passing glimpse of the Falls, but the evening was too far advanced for observation. The ever-present roar of the cataract was reverberating in our ears, though by no means obstructing our conversation. The window frames and the floor were in a constant tremor. The following morning revealed the great object of our impatient desires; but the falls did not at first occasion a degree of surprise so overpowering as we had expected. The sight was, indeed, sublime and terrific, far beyond our immediate comprehension to realise; and whilst dwelling with intense interest upon the scene, communing in the stillness of our own thoughts, we were often irresistibly held to the spot, quite overcome with mingled feelings of astonishment, admiration, and delight, unutterable in words. The cataract immediately before us was the great Canadian or Horse-shoe Falls, 1,900 feet in breadth, and 160 feet in height; and upon our left there was another cataract of smaller dimensions, upon the American side of the river.

For several days we wandered about in contemplative amazement, following the course of the stream, and visiting the whirlpool below. The sight which we found the most impressive in its effect, was obtained from the summit of a tower overlooking the Horse-shoe Fall, and disclosing at once that terrific chasm into which all this water was being tumbled headlong. The current, as it glides over the cataract, looks delightfully smooth and graceful; and when it has reached the bottom, it rolls about, appa-

rently fathoming the depths of the pool, and trying to resist the impulse of an onward movement. The scene was often obscured by rising clouds of mist; and an occasional sunbeam would enliven the effect, by presenting before us a rainbow in all its prismatic beauty.

This may serve as a brief description of Niagara; but the following account affords a far more graphic expression of the effect usually produced upon a stranger. The correspondent of the "Times" says—

"Nowhere on this planet does such a mass of water make such a leap. The Niagara drains 150,000 square miles of the northern continent through the reservoirs of the upper lakes;—not Loch Lomonds and Windermeres, but inland seas, in which England, Scotland, and Wales, might be submerged, and leave nothing visible but the tops of a few mountains to dot the surface as islands. Ten of these oceans and their feeders—more than a hundred rivers—pour their waters at last through this one channel of the Niagara; and the intense compression of these collected floods in the narrow bed of the torrent, pent for miles between steep walls of rock, and driven through a chasm not half as wide as the Rhine, gives a better measure of the immensity of the Falls, than can be made by the eye alone. Great as are the dimensions of the cataract, neither their height nor the extent of surface visible, tells all the tale. To the first glance they are even somewhat disappointing: it is only by degrees the gigantic power at work is appreciated. Nor is the noise so loud as would be anticipated. It does not 'thunder:' it is a low, deep, and continued roar; and you may converse on the very edge of the Fall without raising the voice, though the concussion shakes the rock under your feet.

"The flood as it turns over the precipice is smooth and glassy, but it has the green tinge given by great depths, and under the smoothness of surface is a force that would sweep away anything made by hands. * * A condemned steamer, the *Detroit*, drawing 18 feet of water, was carried over the Falls as lightly as a cork. She never touched the rocks with her keel, until she was precipitated, still shapely and beautiful, a hundred and fifty feet below; and then down —down—no one knows, or ever will know, how many fathoms into a lower deep, scooped out by the incessant action of the Falls, to re-

appear a few minutes afterwards a chaotic and unconnected mass of beams, spars, and floating timbers.

"For many days I lingered in the purlieus of Niagara. I often walked from the suspension bridge along the Canadian shore, getting at every turn a new glimpse of loveliness; and on other occasions have sat for hours on Prospect Tower, with no companion but a book of favourite poems, and the eternal music of the Falls. In storm, in shine, in moonlight, and in mist, in all weathers and hours,—I have feasted upon the beauty and tranquillity of the scene; for as soon as the ear becomes accustomed to the roar of the waters, they descend with a lulling and soothing sound. And when at last I was compelled to take my last look, and travel to new regions, I repeated to myself, neither for the first nor the last time—'I have lived, and loved, and seen Niagara.'"

Amid this reverie of delight, a communication reached us from his Excellency the Governor-General of Canada, requesting our company at an entertainment on the eve of his departure for England. Having reached Toronto, we had the enjoyment of an evening's intercourse with the *elite* of Canada.

THE PROVINCE OF CANADA.

Before we enter upon the narrative of our travels, let us take a cursory glance at the Canadian country and its institutions, as one of the most hopeful colonies we possess. The extent is estimated at 350,000 square miles,—being nearly three times the area of Great Britain and Ireland. The country is formed into the two divisions of Upper and Lower Canada; but for all legislative purposes they constitute one province. Lower Canada is the older settlement, and the inhabitants are chiefly descended from the French. They subdivide their farms, raise but little beyond what they require to eat, therefore have not much

to sell, and possess but little means to buy whatever they may want.

Upper Canada presents to the emigrant the attractions of a fine champaign country, and contains a great breadth of excellent land. Some parts of the Ottawa district are considered so productive, that they have been denominated the "Garden of Canada West." The inhabitants are a hardy, enterprising people: and the staple products of the country are wheat and oats. The forests rank scarcely second in importance to agriculture; and the valley of the Ottawa is the centre of the operations of "lumbering," as the forest pursuits are usually termed. From this part are annually supplied about twenty-five millions cubic feet of pine timber, for the markets of Europe; and large as this supply may appear, there is a region of forests almost unexplored, which is estimated to be sufficient to continue this supply for 150 years to come, independently of the growth which in the meantime may be maturing.

A contractor for "lumber" secures a district of forest country of fifty or a hundred square miles in extent. He clears enough ground for a farm to supply his stores of provisions, erects dwellings for his workmen, and has them placed in "gangs" for operation upon the most marketable timber. He constructs temporary bridges, and opens out avenues leading to the nearest navigable rivers. His arrangements comprise an outfit of every article necessary for a staff of about seventy persons. The first fall of snow levels the inequalities of the ground, and forms the basis of a sort of natural railroad for the conveyance of his timber; and the balks are then formed into rafts, for floating down the rivers to Montreal or Quebec.

The climate is severe, yet eminently salubrious; the summer season is short and hot, and brings forward the crops with singular rapidity. The winter commences early, with a brilliant sky, a keen frost, and pure elastic air,—continuing about eight months of the year. The farmer raises a stock of fat cattle, preserves the meat by freezing; and the live stock which he retains, require to be provided with a large supply of hay during the seven months' absence of grass. There are no coals or manufactures. The timber they export pays for the imports of the colony.

The colonial affairs of most countries are often mismanaged, perhaps because they are little understood by the ruling powers; and therefore it is no wonder that our North American provinces have had to pass through manifold troubles,—such, for instance, as the disturbances betwixt the French and English Canadians, in the year 1838.

The discontent which at one time prevailed, did not escape the notice of Lord Durham when he was governor of the colony, and he restored tranquillity by giving to the people a more democratic basis of power,—a policy which was widely at variance with the previous exercise of royal authority, and more nearly resembling the political institution of the United States. In the year 1849, it was publicly stated "that their exchequer was exhausted, their commerce severely crippled, and their credit depreciated." In that year Lord John Russell, the secretary for the colonies, had become convinced of the soundness of the principle of self-government, and Canada was released from her leading strings, excepting only that the power of

veto was reserved to the British government, to be exercised in cases of foreign policy; and this provision has seldom been required to be used.

The constitutional government and legislature of Canada, consist of a Governor-General, appointed by the crown, a Legislative Council consisting of forty members nominated for life by the crown; and fifty-eight members returned by electoral divisions. The Lower House, or Legislative Assembly, consists of 130 members. The elective franchise is extended to £6 tenantry in towns, and to £4 in the rural districts. The only check upon voting is the administration of an oath. Two days are allowed for elections, and twelve members retire every two years. It may be observed that when the ligatures of the Home Government became relaxed, the loyalty and attachment of the people increased. The population in 1848 was under one million and a-half, and in ten years it was doubled. This increase consisted for the most part of a sturdy emigrant class, and they imparted new life-blood into the colony, extended the range of civilization, consolidated the character of the older settlements, and the result has been that the value of property has become doubled. Under this new political *regime* the energies of the people have been liberated for action upon the natural resources of the country, with remarkable success. Their imports have increased two-fold. In the year 1852, there was not a single railway in all Canada, whilst at the present time there are in operation upwards of 2,000 miles.

Their system of education affords the evidence of how much may be done when the people themselves are allowed to fulfil the obvious duties of a community. Every child

in Canada is entitled to receive an education; and an adequate number of schools, colleges, and universities are provided for their instruction. These are managed by trustees locally appointed, and are mainly supported by rating, although they are receiving aid to the extent of £90,000 a-year from the provincial exchequer. The teachers are non-sectarian; and no regard is had to politics, or to any particular religious belief, excepting only in the case of Catholics and Protestants, who are allowed to have some extent of isolation of their children in the schools.

An attempt has been made, but without success, to establish sectarian advantages, and a reserve of one seventh of the lands of Upper Canada was appropriated for the benefit of the Episcopalian church, and the support of a Protestant clergy. This attempt aroused the indignation of the other churches, and they not only demurred to the justice of the grant, but publicly asserted and demanded their rights. The legislature, finding that every attempt to compromise the question had been unsuccessful, terminated the affair, commuted the stipends already granted, and the proposal for the endowment of an Established Church was finally abandoned.

Canada, no doubt, is rising; but the resources of the country are overpowered with expenditure and debt.

THE RAPIDS.

Parties leaving Toronto for Montreal and Quebec, look upon the affair of navigation with some excitement, as well as interest. In the first instance, we had a large steamer down Lake Ontario to the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, at Ogdensburgh. At this place we took a

smaller boat, to glide down the Rapids. The river scenery is perhaps unsurpassed for variety and beauty. In the course of the first forty or fifty miles, we had a delightfully meandering sail through the "Thousand Islands" studded about in the river, many of them most beautifully adorned in the wildness of nature, and in most picturesque groups. The width of this river is ever varying: in one place it would be ten miles across, and in another only a mile. Occasionally there is a narrow gorge having a rocky bottom. Above this, a swell of water would be collected, and would descend with a violent sweep, forming the well-known "rapids," so full of interest to the passenger. The safety of the boat is more or less imperilled as it shoots like a dart through some narrow current betwixt the sunken rocks. The danger appears frightful, and all on board are intensely observant, and quite alive to the fact that one false move, or one touch upon the rocks, and the boat would be shivered to atoms. Passing through this critical part of the river, a red Indian was taken on board as pilot and steersman. He was a fine manly specimen, evidently partaking an admixture of the white race, possessed of good nerve, and his quick eye was ever fixed ahead upon the course of the river. This man's services were considered necessary, on account of his having acquired a thorough knowledge of the river long before steamers had ventured upon it. Another feature of interest was the number as well as the magnitude of the rafts of timber, floating down from the upper country for shipment to Europe. We observed that one of the largest of these was provided with eleven masts, twenty-four men, and four dwellings for their accommodation.

MONTREAL.

Montreal is 350 miles below Toronto, and 170 above Quebec. The city has 60,000 inhabitants, and is the largest seat of commerce in British America. The public buildings are massive and costly. Above the city is a bold romantic eminence called Mount Royal, from which the city is said to derive its name. On all sides it is fringed with villas; and commands a very extensive view over the distant country. The great feature of Montreal is the Victoria Bridge, which has recently been completed, and carries the Grand Trunk Railway across the St. Lawrence;—a work of art which may be considered one of the wonders of the age.

QUEBEC.

We next visited the former capital of Canada—Quebec. The principal part of the city is on a rocky promontory, at the height of 300 feet above the river, and crowned by a strongly-fortified citadel. It was near Quebec, and in the year 1759, that the military event took place which transferred the possession of Canada from the French to the English nation; and upon the site of the battle-ground, now called the Plains of Abraham, a monument has been erected to commemorate the event, bearing the inscription —"Here died Wolfe victorious."

The scenery around Quebec is somewhat romantic; and we had two or three agreeable excursions to visit the Canadian waterfalls, and other sights. The Montmorenci Fall is 240 feet in height, and has a river of 60 feet wide falling over it in one broad sheet of billowy foam. This stream was working a saw mill having one hundred saws.

The machinery was ingenious, and the process systematic. The proprietor showed us how rapidly one of those immense rafts could be converted into planks and boards; and how important a part of their economy it was to work up the fragments of timber into water buckets, as they were then doing to the extent of thirty dozens per day.

We took an excursion to an Indian village, so called, and were introduced to an old man, who was represented as the chieftain. We heard it stated that the red man won't serve for wages, and that the females won't enter into domestic service, therefore they acquire but little knowledge of civilization, and don't advance in life; and that they never forgive an injury, and are barbarously resentful. The chief amused us by adorning himself with his cap and feathers, his tomahawk, his musket, pipe of peace, &c. &c.; and his son informed us that their tribe belonged to the Huron country; that they were fast wearing out as a people, and becoming a mixed race; and having nearly abandoned the chase, they were beginning to enter into employments. They could still find the moose deer and other wild animals in the interior, at some distance from the cultivated parts of the country. There was a village school, but as our visit was at the hour for dinner, we did not test the children's proficiency in learning. We observed that their favourite game was archery; and the boys showed us how they could win our copper coins by shooting them down at ten yards distance. Around Quebec the country is inhabited by people who are chiefly the descendants of the French settlers; and, according to French custom, the fields have been divided and sub-divided into very narrow strips. There was an absence of

enterprise, and too much of an aspect of contentment about the people. The roofs of the houses are of tin, and they present a painfully dazzling effect to the eye from the glittering of the sun.

In Lower Canada we heard expressions somewhat ungenerous towards the people of Upper Canada; namely, that they had busied themselves in concocting railways and public works, and had selected and sent to England persons whom they thought would be influential in raising large sums of money, and that now they had become burthened with a debt so large, that it would be well for Canada if they could raise enough to pay the interest falling due. And in reference to the great natural advantages possessed by Canada in the products of the soil, and in the extent of inland navigation of lakes and rivers, that the Canadian people had not shown themselves sufficiently alive to their own interests, but that they had allowed the Americans to run away with an undue share of the benefits.

An instance was adduced of the tact of the American people, in cutting the Erie canal, and thus getting possession of the grain traffic from Lake Erie to New York, instead of allowing it to pass by the ordinary channel of the St. Lawrence to the Canadian cities. The Americans had thus secured not only the freight, but the profits of the millers on the banks of the canal, and those also of the merchants of New York. It was insisted that these mercantile advantages could have been retained to Canada, if the solid attractions for the investment of capital had been equally favourable. That amongst men of enterprise, a bias had been existing towards the political freedom of the

United States, and a strong dislike of the restrictions imposed upon the Canadians.

On the same grounds it was shown that the current of emigration had favoured the early colonization of Ohio; whilst on the opposite side of Lake Erie, which divided the two countries, the Canadian province had remained in a state of comparative neglect: that all those choice lands of Upper Canada bordering upon Lake Erie, were even now but thinly peopled; whilst the population of Ohio was more than two millions. Also, that no less than 40,000 of these were members of the Society of Friends; whilst in Canada there was scarcely one of that body to be found. Therefore, whether this partiality of the Friends had or had not to do with politics, the fact of their preference of the Ohio country had doubtless been of great importance to that state, in laying the first foundations of social order and prudential habits in a community of settlers. From the observations of enlarged intercourse with intelligent Canadians, as well as Americans, it was acknowledged that the political constitution of Canada was now become one of sound character. The representation was as low as in any country, excepting the United States, and there were politicians in that country who considered that they had gone too far.

Following, as we have endeavoured to do, the successful results of the enlightened policy of the present day, as contrasted with the previous period of royal and misguided authority, we now take our leave of the colony, with the following extract from the "Saturday Review," in relation to the proposed visit of the future King of England to the colony which may one day fall under his rule:—

"The intended visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, is announced. It will convince him of the many nice shades of difference in opinion and sentiment which separate each section of the human community from all the rest. * * To make exactly right allowance for them, is one great secret of state-craft; and the Prince could nowhere learn the lesson to greater advantage than among two curiously heterogeneous, and in some respects contrasted communities, of which the Canadian nation consists. For these communities have, almost during the Prince's own lifetime, passed through nearly every vicissitude. There has been the smouldering of discontent, the wild blaze of rebellion, the reaction of patriotism, the steady growth of affectionate loyalty. Everywhere there has been change, effort, progress; evils met by their proper cure,—causes leading to their immediate result. If Royalty is to go to school, where better than in such a country could the lessons be learnt that are most valuable to a Prince?

"Canada stands side by side with the United States,—a memorial of successful, as contrasted with foolish legislation. The one reminds us how much may be effected by timely, liberal, and considerate measures of concession; the other, now that every animosity has died away, remains a useful warning to statesmen, of the dangers of a violent, obstinate policy.

In 1838, Lord Durham in one of his despatches dwelt in strong terms upon the mortifying contrast which the Canadian provinces offered, to the energetic prosperity of the neighbouring states. Its moral, we are sure, will not be offered to an unheeding ear. The Prince will wonder at the triumphs of energy, and skill, and daring, which will everywhere meet his view."

We re-entered the United States in the direction of New York; and in passing, enjoyed the scenery of Lake Champlain and Lake George. America, like most other countries, enjoys a popularity in her watering-places. Fort George was the first of these we visited; and the bold scenery of the surrounding hills, together with the cool presence of the lake, indicated a well-chosen spot for an exhilarating effect. Our next visit was to Saratoga, a place of greater notoriety for fashion and display during the season. The town consisted principally of very mag-

nificent hotels, and was well provided for the reception and amusement of the citizens of the north, and the planters of the south, who resort thither to escape from the enervating effects of heat and fever. During the month of August, which is the favourite month, the visitors assemble to the extent of ten or twelve thousand; and in the course of a season, as many as thirty thousand strangers are said to reside in the town for longer or shorter periods. The water of the wells was slightly chalybeate, but not disagreeably so. One of our visits to the public grounds was early in the morning, and we soon discovered that an important-looking elderly gentleman was suffering from an attack of curiosity. He met and passed us several times; and at length ventured to "guess" that we were British, and as he supposed we might be from that northern part called Scotland. He hastened through the usual inquiries of how long we had been in the country,—what parts we had visited,—and how we liked it. He next proceeded with a running commentary upon the policy adopted by General Jackson, and others of the leading statesmen of his country; expressing the alarm which he felt at the ultimate danger from the "rowdy" politicians, and from the corruptions now so notorious in Congress.

From what we saw of the gentlemen visitors, there was an absence of the usual desire for active exercise. They formed themselves into groups, indulged very much in tobacco, and most of them were indifferent about dress: whilst among the ladies, the affair of dress and parade was much overdone.

We were told how much we should be impressed with the glory of an American autumn at the watering-places,

and the display of the *nouvelle riche* in the latest Parisian styles. And there were occasions when we were reminded of the amusement afforded by an American writer, who gave a fanciful sketch of "Life at Saratoga." He says—"The worthy fashionables of every state flock to the springs. This, of course, awakes emulation between the eastern, middle, and southern states; and every lady hereupon finding herself charged in a manner with the weight of her country's dignity and style, dresses, and dashes, and sparkles without mercy at her competitors from every part of the Union." At Saratoga everyone appeared bent upon enjoyment, in one form or another. At the next place we visited, the predominating feature was *stern self-denial.*

The Shaker Settlement of Watervliet, near Albany, is an establishment of singular interest, and is based upon religious socialism. The household consists of ninety persons, all of whom conform to a costume in dress, and carry themselves with an air of religious solemnity. The uniform adopted by the men, was a tight-fitting dress reaching nearly to the ground. The females wore a close-fitting dress suspended from the shoulders, and not contracted at the waist,—provoking the facetious reminder of "a walking razor strop."

The principal informed us that the founder of this religious order was Ann Lee, aided by a small number of fellow-professors. That without the adoption of any particular creed, they had formed themselves into a religious union; and by indefatigable industry had cleared the forest and formed a settlement in this place. They entertain the belief that matrimony is a civil institution,

which is proper for mankind in their natural state, but that it does not consort with the condition of those who conceive that they are of that select number of the true followers of CHRIST, who are enjoined to "forsake the world, and to crucify the flesh with all the affections and desires thereof."

The leading peculiarity of their religious character consists in the exercise of their devotions. When assembled for this purpose, they become seized with a state of agitation of body and limbs, and are seen running about under a variety of excited movements; which, as they conceive, are the outward signs of spiritual activity. Meanwhile, they are uttering solemn expressions, denouncing all iniquity.

The floor of the church is appropriated for the exercise of the devotional dance; a scene in which they are tripping about in a state of extacy; their arms extended, their hands hanging down, expressing their joy for the victory over the power of darkness. They believe that this form of worship is in accordance with the timbrels and dances which were deemed to have been well-pleasing in the Divine sight.

EMIGRATION.

We found abundant evidence of the successful results of emigration from Great Britain, and from Ireland; but we also met with three cases of disappointment. A steamboat passenger on Lake Champlain, who had left this country about thirty years ago, entered into a comparison of the two countries, and referring to his own experience of the comforts of families, and the economy of

living, he entertained the impression that in these respects he had not been a gainer by the change he had made. In his remarks concerning his own family, he expressed himself with very proper feeling, and observed, that in England the father is the acknowledged head of the family, receives due deference from its members, and is addressed and listened to with a feeling of love and devotedness. He had found that in the families of most persons in America it was not so; parental authority, if it existed at all, is greatly enfeebled. He complained that money did not go so far in making purchases as in England, more especially in clothing, and particularly in shoes. He also remarked upon the deteriorating effect upon the constitutional vigour of the people. Referring to the tombstones in the cemeteries, he had found that those who had been born in England were much longer-lived than the Americans were; and in their physical power the Americans were inferior in every way.

Another case we met with was that of a station-master, a native of Berwick-upon-Tweed. He possessed the appearance of a shrewd Scotchman, and remarked that the generality of emigrants did not realise all the advantages they had been led to expect. When a working man came over without any money, and looked upon the wages of a dollar a-day, he concluded that such a sum would do great things for him; and afterwards found he had been widely mistaken. Speaking of the hours and regulations of labour, he said that in earning a dollar of wages a man had to labour harder and for longer hours than he did in England; that in England the hours of labour were usually ten hours a day, but the Americans knew of no such regulation; they

were not easily satisfied, and would grudge to see a man rise from his labour even to straighten his back. The most pitiable case of a disappointed emigrant was a waiter at an hotel at Utica. We discovered from his broad Scotch dialect that he must have emigrated; he made free to inquire about the "old country," and afterwards he gave the following account of himself:—That he was a native of Ross-shire, and had been very much taken with the political charter of Feargus O'Connor, so much so that he considered it would be degrading to him to remain in a country where he could never expect to enjoy the privilege of a vote; that he considered it would be worth any effort to get to America, where he could obtain one. At New York he discovered that he had made a mistake. After remarking upon the arbitrary dealings of the Scotch proprietary, and their system of clearances,—"What think you, said he? I consider the tyranny I met with in New York is far worse. No sooner had I landed, than I found myself beset by a lot of fellows they call 'runners,' and they inquired how soon I was going westward? They came alongside of me in the street, dogged my footsteps wherever I went, and kept up the annoyance about going westward: then they would be telling me that they would not allow me to remain there, hanging about the city and looking for employment;—that they had plenty of such as I was, and if I did not get away it would be worse for me." Having been expelled from the city in this manner, he had proceeded westward several hundreds of miles, and the first place where he found employment was in this hotel, and in a very low capacity as porter. He had since been promoted to the service of table waiter, but had no

sort of satisfaction, for his work seemed never to get finished, and he was often on the premises so long that he had only four hours for sleep. He had found, too, that his vote would not be allowed until he had resided five years in the country: and at length he abruptly declared that there was more tyranny in that place—meaning Utica—than in all Scotland, and he had often wished himself back again. Such cases are no doubt exceptional. Of the acknowledged well-being of emigrants, we require no higher testimony than the following extract from the address of Sir J. P. K. Shuttleworth, Bart., at the Social Science meeting held at Bradford, in October, 1859. He said—"There is scarcely a more touching incident in our national history than the fact that the Irish emigrants to North America have, since the failure of the potato crop and the famine of 1846, sent £9,000,000 sterling to their relatives in Ireland, to enable them to follow."

From Albany to New York by the Hudson river we had a very beautiful sail, and could sometimes see through the openings into the distant valleys of the lofty Catskill Mountains. We remained one night at West Point, a prominent headland or plateau overlooking the river. The scenery was remarkably fine and bold: the site has been selected for the Military Academy of the United States, and they have 3,000 graduates receiving education in every branch of the military art. Having reached New York, we employed the little time we had before sailing, in re-considering the varied scenes we had witnessed, and in noting our remarks upon the institutions of leading interest in the country. These we reserve for our concluding lecture.

SEVENTH LECTURE.

It might with confidence be asserted, that throughout the history of the world no event has ever happened of a more remarkable or eventful character, than the discovery of the Continent of America by Christopher Columbus, in the year 1492. It was a country of vast extent, presenting a surface mainly consisting of forests and swamps, swarming with insects, and, as a natural consequence, insalubrious. The inhabitants were an aboriginal race, living solely on the wild animals they obtained from the chase. They were constantly disputing for the possession of proprietary rights over immense deserts; and it may be supposed that there was an impossibility in fixing any recognised boundaries among those hordes of savage people, who, whilst they roamed from forest to forest in the pursuit of game, reckoned nothing of a hundred leagues of territory; the usages of the chase being equivalent to the claims derived from culture. Taking a deliberate survey of that vast continent, and bearing in mind that although it was 3,000 years in arrear of the knowledge of human arts, no one could hesitate to conclude that it had been reserved to fulfil some assigned share in the duties of creation. There was a coast which was admirably adapted for commerce; there were rivers wide and deep for navigation; and the whole continent

held out the promise of fertility as the future abode of a great nation and a powerful community. It was generally allowed that the territories should belong to whatever European nation was the first to make discovery of them; and in this scramble for possession, the British secured nearly the whole line of North American coast. The power of the British in Europe had become greatly exalted; and her dominions in America extended from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. No sooner had peaceful possession been concluded, than the British Parliament contrived a scheme of taxation. The adoption of this arbitrary policy required a standing army. It was therefore proposed that the expenses should be sustained by the colonists; or, in other words, by the parties whom the army was intended to overbear.

The Secretary-at-War, Mr. Wilbore Ellis, in bringing forward the estimates of the year, included in his proposition a standing army of twenty regiments for America, and stated, in explanation, that these regiments were to be supported for the first year only by the British Exchequer, and ever afterwards by the colonists themselves. The colonists demurred; the British Ministry became exasperated, and declared that they would tolerate no further the disobedience to royal instructions, nor bear with the claim of the lower "Houses of Assembly" in the colonies to the right of deliberating on their votes of supply, like the Parliament of the mother country. The judges and other public officers held their appointments at the King's pleasure, so that, in effect, there was a civil garrison in the authority of Great Britain holding the colonists

under obedience. The immediate object was to obtain a colonial revenue which should be disposed of by the British Ministry under the sign-manual of the King. It was, however, a settled purpose of the colonists, that no tax should be imposed upon the inhabitants of a British plantation but by their own Assembly as assenting parties.

Nor was it surprising that the House of Commons should listen with complacency to a military scheme which, at the expense of the colonies, should hold out the hope of twenty new appointments as colonels, besides other offices that might be supplied out of the families of the members. The absence of any necessity for all those troops in time of peace was but too obvious, except to enforce taxation, and obedience to laws which the colonists had no voice in enacting; and this was repugnant to their ideas of freedom. The first measure to raise revenue in the colonies, was a Stamp Act; and following this, there were other taxes imposed to defray the expenses of this army. The deliberate character of these proceedings was calculated to alarm, if not to arouse the displeasure even of the calmest of the American statesmen. They considered it an attack on their constitutional rights; and the first memorable opposition came from the General Assembly at New York. They pleaded with the King concerning their courts of law, the influence of the governors, and the uncontrolled power exercised in the colony; all of which had assumed an aspect of terror, and the parties could not be impeached.

It was the wish of the colonists that the independence of these courts of law should be established, not only on account of the security thus afforded to the rights and liberties of the subject, but also as conducive to the honour

of the Crown. The voice of the Assembly, "supplicating with the most respectful humility," was allowed to go unheeded. Lord North and the Treasury Board decided confirmatory of the exercise of the King's pleasure, not only in the appointments, but in the salaries also. The petition having been disregarded, the people became increasingly discontented, and entered into associations for preventing the importation of British manufactures until the obnoxious Stamp Act was repealed; and at length it was repealed, amidst universal joy, and trade was renewed on the most liberal footing. It would, however, have been a mistake to suppose that in making this surrender, the British Parliament were about to relinquish the idea of raising revenue in the colonies. The year following they passed an act imposing a duty on glass, tea, paper, and printers' colours. This enactment rekindled the exasperation of the colonists, and excited a general opposition, so that in the year 1770 these duties were repealed, excepting a charge of 3d. per pound upon tea. It will at once be perceived how inflexible were the colonists in their determination not to admit the principle of taxation without representation.

The English Government, finding themselves foiled in the tea duties, handed over the scheme to the East India Company, who freighted several ships, and sent them over, in charge of factors to dispose of the cargoes. The Americans looked upon this as an indirect mode of taxation; therefore they prevented the landing of the tea, and a number of persons boarded the ships as they were lying in Boston harbour, and, without doing any other damage, broke open 342 chests of tea, and discharged their contents into the water. The British Parliament, acting under the

exasperation of the moment, passed a law to discontinue and put an end to the mercantile port of Boston. The Americans, in no way intimidated, but, on the contrary, aroused with this repetition of the arbitrary designs of government, became united in a more determined form of opposition. They appointed a Congress of Deputies to meet at Philadelphia, and to concert measures for the preservation of their rights. Bodies of militia were speedily raised and trained to the use of arms; powder manufactories were established, and military stores procured.

Without entering upon the manner in which the British Parliament undertook to quell the insurrectionary movement of the colonists, by proclaiming martial law, we discover by the course of their proceedings that the first blood of the British army was shed at Lexington, in 1775. Here was opened the first scene of a wonderful drama, which severed the American people from the dominion of the British empire;—which, in the course of its progress, exhibited the most illustrious characters and events, and closed with a revolution glorious for the actors, and especially important in its consequences to mankind.

In 1776 the congress of deputies at Philadelphia published the "Declaration of Independence," which separated America from Great Britain, under the title of "The United States." This occurred 284 years after the discovery of America by Columbus, 166 years from the first British settlement in Virginia, and 156 years from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, Massachusetts. On the 30th November, 1782, the provisional articles of peace and reconciliation between Great Britain and the American States were signed at Paris, whereby the former

acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America. These articles were ratified by a definitive treaty September 3rd, 1783, and thus ended a long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain expended nearly one hundred millions sterling, sacrificed one hundred thousand lives, and gained nothing.

America endured very great cruelty and distress from her enemies, lost many lives and much treasure, but delivered herself from foreign dominion and injustice, and established her rank among the nations of the earth. From this, the starting point of her history, it will be admitted that the deliberations of the statesmen of the Union, and the measures adopted for its advancement, have been productive of an untold extent of national prosperity. At this period the number of the States was only thirteen, and all the inhabitants they contained amounted to three millions—a wonderfully small force to resist the power of an ancient monarchy. As a constitutional government, which dates, as it were, from yesterday, the first elements consisted of an unselected mass of adventurers from Europe—emigrants who had arrived at different periods, who differed from each other in many respects, and who, if they had any definite ideas of the functions of a government, most probably disagreed in many important particulars. Poverty and misfortune had laid down a guarantee of their equality; and, in the absence of any acknowledged superiority of rank, they adopted, in accordance with their own outward condition, the elements of a democracy. Upon this foundation they based that political constitution upon which their country should be made to flourish. The form of government they laid down was

a federal republic—each of the States having a constitution for the management of its own internal affairs, and all of them being formed into one united body, as a "Federal Constitution."

The legislative power still existing is vested in a Congress of delegates from the several States, divided into two distinct bodies—the Senate and the House of Representatives. The members of the latter are elected every two years by the people, and the senators every six years by the State Legislatures. The executive power is vested in a President, chosen every four years. The constitution guarantees, for ever, freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. In the eye of the law all the inhabitants are equal. Hereditary titles and distinctions are prohibited. There is no law to establish any particular form of religion, or to prevent the free exercise of it; and no religious test is required as a qualification for any office of public trust in the United States.

The spectacle of a people founding a home, and designing a constitution, in the remoteness of the West, is one which abounds in interest, not alone in relation to the development of wealth, but in the establishing of all the institutions and habits of the people. It was obviously their design, in forming a community, to escape as far as possible from the errors which had caused the expulsion of the British portion of them from their native land. They studiously avoided class privileges, and allowed no supremacy in religious sects. Democracy found favour in every department. Amongst the settlers in these thirteen States there could be no disparity in their circumstances. The land itself sustained them, and, although full of fer-

tility, it could not uphold the two classes, those of proprietor and occupier; therefore the owner was himself the cultivator, and it must have been from this class mainly that the legislators had to be procured. These men possessed a strong sense of justice, with an ardent love of liberty; and their proceedings were seasoned with the spirit of religion.

They adopted universal suffrage as their basis of representation, and under the circumstances, it may be asked, Whom could they have excluded? We will not discuss the subject of the franchise. It has been remarked by De Tocqueville, "that universal suffrage is far from producing in America, either all the good or all the evil consequences which are assigned to it in Europe."

THE BALLOT.

The secrecy of the ballot has been strongly reflected upon in this country. Whilst in America, we never heard of any dissatisfaction or desire for open voting, as a more eligible system; on the contrary, it was uniformly defended even by those who made no secret of the candidate whom they had chosen to support. In the cities of the frontier, where one-half the population are foreigners, it is alleged that the secrecy of the ballot does not provide against the corruption that exists: indeed, it would be difficult to provide a remedy against bribery where the parties who desire to corrupt, find that they have easy access to those who are willing to be corrupted. In the interior of the country we are willing to suppose that the case is somewhat different; and on this head we have the high authority of the Earl of Carlisle, who visited the

United States not many years ago. He says—

"Elections may seem the universal business, the topic and passion of life; but these are, at least with but few exceptions, carried on without any reproach of tumult, rudeness, or disorder; those which I happened to see, were the most sedate, unimpassioned processes I can imagine. In the Free States, at least, the people at large bear an active, and I believe on the whole, a useful part in the concerns of internal government and practical daily life."

Speaking of the condition of the people, he also said—

"The feature which is the most obvious, and probably the most inevitable, is the nearly entire absence, certainly the appearance in a great degree, of the reality of poverty. In no part of the world, I imagine, is there so much general comfort amongst the great bulk of the people; and a gushing abundance struck me as the permanent character of the land."

Adding, with his own generous sympathy, the remark—

"It is not easy to describe how far this consideration goes to brighten the face of nature, and to give room for its undisturbed enjoyment."

We have remarked upon the inferiority and the corrupt character of some of the representatives returned to the legislature; and there are those in this country, who insist that this has been the result of universal suffrage and the ballot. Perhaps this allegation may be more easily made than correctly ascertained. At that eventful period when America was struggling to establish her position as a new political organisation, and as a nation, there was ever present the resounding of a high-toned appeal to the distinguished of her citizens, and the men were found who were equal to the emergency. In recent times, the proceedings of Congress have assumed a more formal character; the wants of the Union have not been of equal magnitude; and the members returned have been common-

place men. They have lowered the estimation of the house; and the remedy, whenever it may be applied, will probably be complete, and not of a partial or progressive character. If so disappointing a result in the United States has been attributable to universal suffrage and the ballot, how shall we account for the unblushing corruption in the "Legislative Assembly" of the adjoining province of Canada, based upon a £6 franchise with open voting? We happened to be present when the subject under discussion was the incorporation of the "Great Southern Railway Company" and the disclosures of peculation and jobbing on the part of the members were so flagrant, that at length one of the members interposed, and appealed to the house upon the "sacred duty" of ceasing to criminate one another, if they entertained the hope of inducing the capitalists of Europe to afford any future aid in carrying out enterprises necessary for the prosperity of the province.

It is therefore apparent, that in the United States and Canada, and perhaps in all new countries, the organised machinery of legislation, however perfect in itself, remains for a time incapable of diffusing all the blessings of good government, more especially if unaided by competent minds to hold the presiding authority, and to give right direction to all those purposes which minister to the well-being of a community. No doubt that in both these countries the unsettled habits and pursuits of the people, and the impatient scramble for the "Almighty dollar," have taken the lead for a time, of every consideration. Meanwhile, great irregularities are being committed and are tolerated, because the individual affairs of the gene-

rality of men so fully absorb their thoughts, that they feel indifferent to the concerns of public life.

It may reasonably be anticipated that the growth of political and social intelligence will arouse them to action; but we cannot ignore the errors they have already committed; nor yet resist the conclusion that, on the whole, their policy has been eminently successful. The surface of political life has been most frantically bedecked with singular names and designations of political parties, indicating adverse opinions; yet amidst all this apparent confusion, they have been as a community wisely bound together upon objects of common interest. No doubt the liberal character of their constitution, and the wise policy of their rulers, has inspired confidence, attracted settlers, and afforded the inducement for outlay of capital to an enormous extent, and that, too, within a period of time almost incredibly short.

As an evidence of the progress and material prosperity of the country, it may be stated that in the course of eighty years since they have had their affairs in their own hands, the Union has been increased from 13 to 31 States, and seven territories which are becoming states, and the inhabitants are multiplied nearly ten-fold. The leading characteristic of the whole people is that of glowing patriotism and a buoyant expectation of a great future for their country. In numerous instances we met with exhibitions of family pride, derived from their kindred with the first founders of the states; and there were other instances in which the parties appeared vain-glorious, and claimed their descent from noble families in England. These are the leading features of change which have

come over a people descended from the same parentage as ourselves.

They naturally enough have tried to avoid what have been our errors, and to improve upon our example. Many of them left this country when our laws were less liberal and tolerant than they now are, and they may have cherished recollections somewhat unfriendly; but it is quite evident that underlying this impression there is a liking for the "Old Country" which they cannot and do not affect to disguise. It is the delight of the more wealthy to visit this country, prompted, no doubt, by desires which are commendable, and in many cases inspired by valued traditional reminiscences. They search out the locality of their ancestors; the houses in which they had dwelt, the places in which they had worshipped, the parochial registers in which the generations of their forefathers had been recorded; and do not forget the heraldic distinctions which their families had claimed. They do not fail to recognise the progress of this country; they acknowledge that the British are a great people, and hardly conceal their jealousy of being excelled in the great race of human advancement. It will be admitted that a period of fourscore years measures only a short span in the progress of a country, yet the American people conclude that, theoretically speaking, they have drawn out the best form of constitution that human wisdom could devise.

The Senate contains a large proportion of celebrated men,—they are the elect of the State elections. Yet they are not holding a position so dignified as to escape from imputations. Of the House of Representatives, De Tocqueville remarks, "One is struck by the vulgar demeanour of

that great assembly;" and, as we have before remarked, there is but too much truth in the venal character of them as a body.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

Their judicial courts are by no means free from reproach. Having reference to our own, the contrast will appear remarkable. In the wisdom and experience of ages the distinction of being selected as one of our court judges has become the acknowledged reward of the highest order of mind; and their painstaking and unswerving rectitude of conduct, together with the unimpeachable character of our juries, have established an independence and moral excellence for our jurisprudence such as is probably unknown elsewhere. In the appointment of judges for the supreme courts of the United States, the possession of office is held for life, and the salaries are about £1,000 a year; but the judges under the State constitutions are elected by the people for terms of years, and thus the judgment-seat is held subordinate to the popular will. There is a want of dignity in many of the judges, their salaries are very meagre, there is a disregard or want of respect for them prevailing among the people, and the courts do not possess their confidence. The common law of England is nominally adhered to as the basis of the legislation of the States, although every State makes its own laws; and the juries sometimes undertake to decide not only the fact, but the law also. The jury system does not work well; those who admit that they have formed opinions of the case, are ineligible; and therefore cases sometimes occur in which hundreds may be struck off upon

this admission, who, had they been allowed to remain, might have been fit and proper persons to decide the case in question. It is well known that jurors allow themselves to be exposed to influences; and one of the judges himself informed us that a jury empanelled for the duties of a day would contrive to disagree, and report their disagreement, upon the first case brought before them, knowing that thereby they should get their release from the court. The governors of individual states, in like manner, are subject to the popular will,—they are screwed down in their salaries till the official dignity, if not the authority, is starved out of them. We had a conversation with one who was evidently too good for his salary of £800 a-year, but by no means too good for his place.

The patriotism which the American people feel, has relation to their country as a whole. They have no idea of the exalted position derived from a family estate or a territorial investment, such as a man of wealth in this country would look upon with delight as a possession, or as an inheritance for his children. They seek prosperity, power, and reputation; almost all have a determination to rise, although but few have lofty or expansive views. The people are generally intelligent, but they appear to possess no recognised standard of cultivation or refinement. There is great freedom, and but little etiquette; an independence which borders on rudeness amongst the inferior class: and it may be said the states have made only a beginning in the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts. There is amongst them an absence of physical exercise which is very enervating; they deem it a bore and a waste of time to engage in bodily exercise of any kind, and do

not find pleasure in the active employment of the muscles in hearty, wholesome recreation. The brain is set agoing early in life by violent thoughts of money, how to make and increase it, and not how they may healthfully enjoy it. Hence, as the American writers admit, the people are dwindling in stature, and every generation is weaker and more dwarfish than its predecessor.

Miss Beecher, an American lady, in her "Letters on Health and Happiness," says:—"The health of the American people is perishing at a fearful ratio; and while other nations train their children to be strong and healthy, we are training ours to be puny, sickly, and deformed." In proof of this she exhibits facts which show "that of the American women born in this century, probably not two in ten have the vigour and health of their maternal ancestors, while probably more than half of them are either invalids or very delicate." She is "unable to call to mind as many as ten married ladies, born in the United States, who are perfectly sound, healthy, and vigorous." The subject of religion and religious establishments would afford a wide field for observation. It is evident that the voluntary principle has done nobly in America, and affords the amplest illustration of soundness, as applied to human action in the highest concerns of man.

The temperance movement occupies a very leading position in almost every part of the country; and whilst travelling through the States of Vermont and Maine, we regretted not to have met with all the information we were desirous of obtaining regarding the Liquor Law. In a town of considerable magnitude, in which we spent one night and part of the following day, we heard a good deal

of conversation amongst the guests at the hotel, principally leading to the conclusion that the Liquor Law was extensively evaded. The proprietor of the hotel informed us that he had frequently seen casks of spirits opened and discharged into the street; that he had often been fined, but that there was great moderation exercised by the authorities, and that when he had paid about as much in penalties as he had formerly been used to pay for a licence, he had no fear of any further inroad upon him for that year at all events. At Albany, a temperance convention was holding its sittings, which continued for several days; they met in the capitol of the State of New York, and deputies were in attendance from very distant parts of the country. We observed that their arguments were chiefly in favour of "moral suasion."

SLAVERY.

At the time of the revolution, there was a considerable number of negro slaves in several of the States, introduced from Africa during the colonial administration. The institution has now assumed the character of a vested interest, and the subject has occasioned much angry discussion betwixt the Northern and the Southern States, threatening the dismemberment of the Union. Many of the planters are holding by inheritance the slaves they employ on their plantations, and the legislature of the Union has confirmed their right. The moral right which is involved has been sought to be justified by the authority of Scripture, and a prudential claim has been based on the plea that the negro belongs to an inferior race. By way of confirmation of this conclusion, the planters insist

that their plea of inferiority of race is most fully affirmed by the conduct of the Abolitionists of the North, who systematically exclude from their intercourse, and almost from their presence, not only the blacks, but those who betray the slightest trace of colouring of the African race. Separate churches and separate schools are provided for them, and neither character, nor wealth, nor style of dress will procure their admission into the presence of the white man, whether in an hotel, a railway car, or even an omnibus. How, then, shall we affect any surprise that the planter of the South should become restive under the rebuke of the Northern philanthropist, whose conduct to the negro so strongly confirms this impression?

The controversy on slavery in the United States has been one of an exciting and complicated character. The power to emancipate is existing in the individual States separately, and not in the general government; therefore the efforts of public opinion have been fruitless, except in cases in which the appeal has been made to single States. In the course of 17 years after the Declaration of Independence, no fewer than 8 out of the 13 States of the Union had emancipated their slaves. They found, however, that the ignorance and vice of these free blacks became a growing trouble, and the benevolent designs of Franklin for their elevation were abandoned as impracticable; indeed, the prejudice against the African race became so great, that the whole of them, freemen as well as slaves, were looked upon as an intolerable burden. It was about the close of the last century that the great question began to be agitated—"How shall the slave trade be suppressed?" and the philanthropic Wilberforce had begun

the achievement of his triumphs. Almost at the same time, an impetus was given to slave cultivation by the amazing increase of the demand for cotton, arising out of the successful inventions of Watt, Arkwright, and Crompton. The slaves in the cotton-growing states were no longer considered in the light of an incumbrance. The planters extended the area of slavery at home, and laid the foundation of a steady progress in outstripping the cotton-growers of other parts of the world, and securing to themselves the supply of all the markets of Europe.

The "Domestic Institution," so called, has been constantly receiving heavy blows of remonstrance from the Northern States; but its vitality has ever been increasing, more especially in the cotton districts, in which it appears to have found a settled home. In those of the Northern States immediately bordering upon the cotton range, such as Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, slavery has not been abolished; and in these parts the most odious phase of slavery is still rampant, namely, the raising of slaves to be annually sold off to the dealers, for removal to the plantations of the south, involving, as it does, the separation of the members of families, and an utter disregard of the nearest ties of kindred.

There is nothing can be said in regard to climate in palliation of the continuance of slavery in these more northern states, as in the case of cotton, rice, and sugar culture, which is carried on amidst swamps, and under a burning tropical sun. On the contrary, the climate of the three states named is admitted to be quite congenial to the white race. In the cultivation of cereal crops, the labour of the negro is more expensive and less effective than that

of the whites; therefore, on economic grounds, the system of retaining slaves for grain cultivation is condemned. There is therefore not only no necessity, but great moral guilt in the system; and although the individual states may not choose of themselves to abolish slavery by law, it is understood that it is in course of dying out.

It is said that the exhaustion of the land by tobacco and other culture, is inducing the owners to leave the country for the more promising west; and these lands are being bought up for cultivation by the white race, so that by a change of ownership the stain upon the country may eventually become obliterated. The concentration of slavery in the south has followed the enormous and growing importance of slave products. The commercial value of these may be estimated from the fact that the last cotton crop has been estimated at 45 millions sterling; and in addition to this large amount there is the unknown value of the other slave productions of sugar, rice, and tobacco. Judging from the outcry of the Northern Free States, it might have been expected that slavery within the precincts of the Union could not have held out for so long a period. But no one acquainted with the state of the country, can resist the conclusion that the individual interests existing in the north, and derived from so vast a number of millions falling annually from the hand of the planter, is a sustaining element. The pursuits of many of the free states are intimately interwoven with the success of slavery; those of Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky, and other states too far north to grow cotton, are very much sustained by the raising of provisions for the slave states. These supply horses and other animals for the plantations; they

raise an immense number of hogs, to be slaughtered and barrelled as pickled pork. Along with the pork and beef there is annually produced an incalculable amount of Indian corn, wheat, barley, potatoes, and other descriptions of food, all of which is sent down the Mississippi, for slave consumption.

The money value of the live animals and the food productions must amount to a very considerable sum; so large that, judging from the steamers freighting at Cincinnatti and other places, the proprietary of those states must share from ten to fifteen millions a-year of the *slave-earned* gold. However obnoxious the system, it was underlying their own prosperity, and they appeared in no haste to have it disturbed, much less destroyed. The bankers of New York are enjoying a lucrative business in the discounting of bills, and in conducting other large money transactions arising out of the dealings in slave produce; the merchants of the northern cities derive their principal business from imports received in repayment for cotton or other slave-grown produce; and the proprietors of the mercantile navy, who freight and carry away these exports, may all of them be reckoned amongst the numberless pillars that uphold the institution of slavery. But amongst the other varied interests concerned, and not the least important of them, is that of the manufacturers of New England, who supply the clothing for the negroes, and receive by way of acknowledgment the quietus of a tariff which leaves about thirty per cent. in their favour.

"Northern men," says Mr. Chambers, "seek to conciliate the south for the sake of selfish interests." And, alluding to the manufacturers, he remarks, "All the cloth-

ing, shoes, hats, and other articles required on the southern plantations are imported coast-wise from the northern manufacturers, so that in reality the case stands thus—The south pretends to be democratic, and votes for protection; and the north in return votes for slavery." There can be no doubt that in the various states of the Union there are many honest and sincere men, who deeply deplore the reproach which the system of slavery has brought upon their country, and who would themselves be prepared to make enormous sacrifices to enable the negroes to obtain their freedom; but it is very obvious that there is a far more considerable numbers of others, who feel very chary about any legislative measure to overturn an institution which is of such importance to themselves. It is unmistakably evident that the great majority of the citizens consider the institution to be indispensable to the great interests of their country. In proof of this we may adduce the fact, that upon every successive election of President, they have made choice of one who belongs to the pro-slavery party. The very last address, issued only a few months ago, by President Buchanan, contains the following paragraph, which amounts to a palliation if not to an open defence of slavery. He proceeded to say—"For a period of more than half a century, there has been no perceptible addition to the number of our domestic slaves. During this period the advancement in civilization has far surpassed that of any other portion of the African race. The light and blessings of Christianity have been extended to them, and both their moral and physical condition has been greatly improved."

From the mellowed tints of these remarks commending the advancement in civilization, morality, and Christianity already attained by the negroes, it might have been expected that there would have followed a notification of some interest respecting the period, whether near or remote when these objects of his solicitude might be deemed fit to be entrusted with the charge of their own personal liberty: but upon this part of the subject his hearers were left in the dark. Whether Mr. Buchanan has been correct in his statement respecting the absence of any increase in the number of slaves, we will not stop to inquire; the number is now reckoned at four millions, and the selling price of a good "field hand" is £300 or upwards: on this account the money question which is involved in the affair, presents an obstacle to their liberation even more formidable than all the rest. Supposing that we were to estimate their value as a whole at £100 each, we should have an amount of four hundred millions sterling, requiring to be disbursed to accomplish their freedom by purchase.

Having before him so graphic an idea of the amount of difficulty, well might Mr. Everett inquire—"Has any one, whose opinion is entitled to the slighest respect, ever undertaken to sketch out the details of a plan for effecting abolition at once, by any legislative measure that could be adopted?" It had also been prognosticated that the downfall of slavery must be left to time, to economical causes, and the owners to the quiet reprobation of the world.

Dr. C. W. Eddy, in his lecture before the Society of Arts, has remarked very emphatically—

"I think the observing traveller in America, cannot fail to be struck with astonishment at the vast amount of work that has been achieved, of forests cleared, of land reclaimed, of roads, railroads, and canals constructed, and of cities built by a sparse and scattered population, in the brief period of time that has elapsed since the first peopling of the country. To enumerate only a few of the marvels of American progress,—that great scion of the English stock has already overspread a territory equal to all Europe in extent; has dug 5,000 miles of canals, constructed 16,000 miles of railway, and built some half-dozen towns which rival in magnificence a like number of the capitals of Europe. It has formed a merchant navy, not inferior to our own, if the lake and river tonnage be (as is only fair) included in the comparison; it is beginning to rival us in foreign commerce, and has supplanted us in the deep-sea fisheries; grows a cotton crop that goes far towards supplying the wants of the world, and produces a surplus of corn and provisions which feeds the West Indies and the eastern coast of South America, besides helping to maintain ourselves and several of our colonies. These are great results, and are the more surprising when it is considered that they have been achieved beneath a climate less favourable to continuous exertion than our own, with summers whose relaxing heats unnerve the physical powers, and winters which for long months together bind nature in impenetrable folds of ice and snow. How, then, have these great results been accomplished? how, but by the indomitable energies of that vigorous and ambitious race of which they are an offshoot?—energies which are aided by an inventive faculty of a high order, and guided by the strong practical common sense which is their birthright. Place a people gifted with such powers as these on a territory so far severed from the old world, with all its social and political entanglements, that it may have free scope to fulfil the behest of replenishing the earth, and subduing it; where, moreover, its numbers may be continually recruited by the boldest, most hardy, and adventurous spirits of the old world;—and we need not wonder at the results we witness."

By way of conclusion, let us form an estimate of the relative position of our own country and the United States, and balance the advantages:—

America has a negro population mostly in slavery, and not much public debt.

We are carrying a heavy debt, but it is resting on the shoulders of a free people.

Give us the latter, rather than the former; and we repeat emphatically—

"ENGLAND, WITH ALL THY FAULTS, WE LOVE THEE STILL!"